

4<sup>th</sup> 18 1746

T H E  
H I S T O R Y

Of the Two IMPOSTORS

*Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck,*

Who, (in the Reign of King *Henry VII*) were

Pretenders to the CROWN of *England*;

SET UP BY

*M. S. E.*

*Margaret* Ducheſs of *Burgundy*; chiefly ſupported by the  
Kings of *France* and *Scotland*; much favour'd by *Maxi-*  
*milian* King of the *Romans*; by *Philip* his Son, the Duke  
of *Burgundy*; by the King of *Portugal*, &c.

And acknowledged as Lawful Sovereigns in **FLANDERS,**  
**IRELAND** and **ENGLAND.**

But were at laſt detected, defeated, and ſo deſerted by their Adhe-  
rents, that the *One* was made a *Turn-ſpit* in the King's Kitchen,  
and the *Other* ſet in the *Stocks* and *Pillory*, both in **LONDON**  
and **WESTMINSTER**, and then hang'd at *Tyburn*.

With an APPENDIX,

*Shewing the INTRIGUE of the JESUITS at Rome to*  
*impoſe another SHAM PRINCE upon Great-Britain,*  
*in the Year 1688.*

---

L O N D O N:

Printed for J. WATTS at the Printing-Office in *Wild-Court* near  
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Price One Shilling.

HISTORY

Of the Two Impositions

Imposed on the Crown of England

During the Reign of King Henry VIII

By Robert Simund and Peter Hill

SET UP BY

Thomas Thomas of Brighthelmston, chiefly supported by the  
Lords of the Council, and many others, by the  
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To the Right HONOURABLE

*Sir Richard Hoare, Knt.*

LORD-MAYOR of *London*, &c.

*My* LORD,



A M very far from supposing  
Your Lordship so unacquaint-  
ed with our History as not  
to know, that *Simnel* and  
*Warbeck* were not only the most noto-  
rious, but perhaps the most formidable  
IMPOSTORS that ever pretended to a  
Crown. Nor do I think this Treatie  
to be of such Importance as to deserve  
the Patronage of Your Lordship, or any  
other Great Man, how much soever it  
may need it.

But,

## DEDICATION.

But, my Lord, the Custom of Authors to inscribe their Performances to some Patron of distinguish'd Worth, has been, I will not say *establisht*, but so *indulg'd* by the Benevolence of Princes, Noblemen, Magistrates, &c. of all Nations, for Time immemorial, that it will, I presume, be some Excuse for my claiming the same Privilege for this Narrative, which has been most faithfully compiled from our most approv'd Historians.

Indeed, I humbly intreat Your Lordship's Pardon for singling out Your Name for its Ornament: But when I reflected on the present Conjuncture, in which another *Impostor*, who is moreover a *Papist*, has dar'd to dispute the Title of the Illustrious Protestant Family of *HANOVER* to this Crown, and to disturb the present Glorious Possessor of it, by the unnatural Rebellion rais'd in the North; when 'tis consider'd at what a critical, what a perilous Time, Your Lordship has been invested with the chief Magistracy

## DEDICATION.

stracy of the greatest, most opulent, and most populous City in *Europe*; how unanimously You was elected to that High Trust by Your Fellow-Citizens; what a Sanction was given to the important Choice by the Prime Nobility of the Kingdom, as well as by the Learned Judges; and how signally their Applause of it was testify'd by their Presence at the pompous Feast of Your solemn Inauguration: Upon these Considerations, no Patron could be more proper for this Treatise than Your Lordship, especially as 'tis well known You have such an Abhorrence of IMPOSTURE, that You cannot be displeas'd to see these most flagrant Instances of it expos'd at this Juncture.

Besides the Circumstances adorning Your Character in Public Life, and that strict Honor and Integrity which have render'd You a SAFE DEPOSITARY of the Treasure of Thousands of Your Fellow-Subjects, I beg Leave, my Lord, to add Your *Courtesy*; that most engaging



## DEDICATION.

engaging Quality so conspicuous in  
Your Private Life, that I shou'd not  
have mention'd it, only as it was the  
chief Inducement which encourag'd me  
to hope You will not take this Address  
amiss from,

*My Lord,*

*Your Lordship's*

*most obedient,*

*and most humble Servant,*

Gray's-Inn,  
November 20,  
1745.

S. W.



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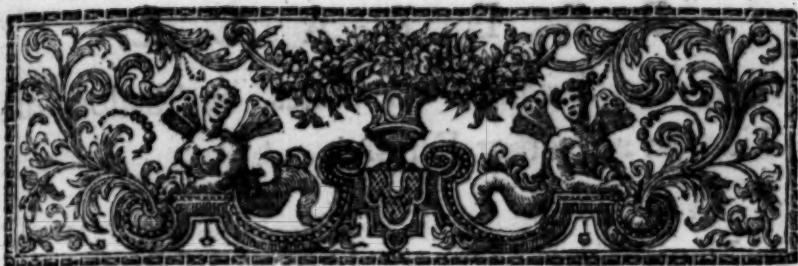


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## P R E F A C E.

**A**FTER that well-known Contest <sup>Dispute</sup> for the Sovereignty of *England* be- <sup>betwixt</sup> tween the Families of *York* and <sup>the Houses</sup> *Lancaster*, distinguish'd by the <sup>of York and</sup> *White* Rose and the *Red*, a Dispute which, in the space of ninety Years, is said to have cost the Blood of ten Kings and Princes of the Royal Race, sixty Dukes and Earls, a thousand other Lords and Knights, and one hundred and fifty thousand Soldiers and People, King *Henry* the Seventh of the House of *Lancaster*, obtain'd the Crown by a strong Hand; and by uniting the two Roses in his Marriage with Lady *Elizabeth*, eldest Daughter of King *Edward* IV, from which Match our present Sovereign is descended, he seem'd to have effec-  
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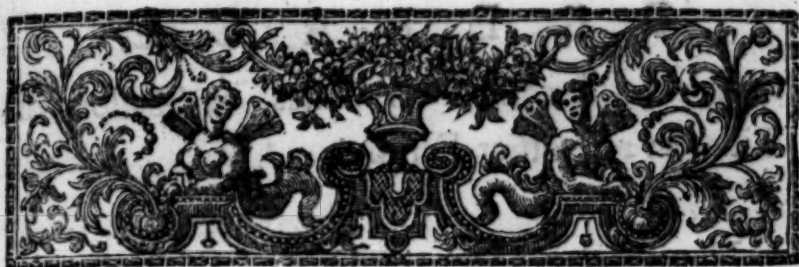
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## P R E F A C E.



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## P R E F A C E.

tually barr'd against all Titles, or Shadow of Titles in any other Family.

Nevertheless *Margaret* Duchess of *Burgundy*, the second Sister of King *Edward* IV, and who was the Dowager of *Charles* furnam'd the *Hardy*, abounding in Treasure, and having no Child, hop'd to see the Sceptre of *England* replac'd in her Family, and study'd continually how to de-  
Character of the Duchess of Burgundy.
 throne the present Possessor. She not only hated the Family of *Lancaster*, but the very Person of this King, to such a degree that she even curs'd him on her Knees, and for the sake of indulging her Spite against him, hated many of her own Friends. This Lady wou'd however have not been so impatient perhaps, if when *Henry* had united the two *Houses* by his Marriage, he had but held the Balance even, and been impartial in his Favours to the Friends of both Families; but she was provok'd in the first place, that *Henry* delay'd marrying her Neice till the Crown was adjudg'd to himself, without any Mixture of the Title of the House of *York*; and in the next place, that he put off the Coronation of his Queen, (even after she had brought

## P R E F A C E.

brought him a Son) as if she had been unworthy to sit on the Throne with him; an Honour which no Queen of *England* had been debarr'd of since the Conquest. This Conduct, as Mr. *Rapin* observes, fully convinced the Duchess and all Mankind that the House of *York* was still odious to him, and that he was afraid of taking any Step which might incline the People to believe she had some Right to the Crown. So perceiving his Hatred of the *York* Family implacable, the Duchess did not think herself oblig'd to have much Regard for him. In short, this Lady, who (says Lord *Verulam*) had the Spirit of a Man, with the Malice of a Woman, was such a sworn Adversary to the Red Rose, that she sought every Occasion to trouble and torment the King, and to put the State of *England* into a Combustion. For this end she abetted two Impostors of very mean Extraction, one after another, to lay Claim to the Crown, by personating the Characters of two several Princes of the Blood of the Family of *York*, viz. *Edward V.* and his Brother *Richard*, who they pretended had escap'd from the *Tower* instead of being murder'd there by King *Richard III.*

King *Henry's* Indifference to his Queen, and Aversion to the House of *York*.

The Duchess sets up two Idols against King *Henry*.

## P R E F A C E.

How well the two Pretenders were tutor'd,  
and with what Success they acted their Parts, is  
an Inquiry which will afford some Entertain-  
ment, and as it may be very seasonable  
too at this Juncture, on another account,  
besides shewing how far 'tis possible for  
the Imagination to outgo Reason, 'tis there-  
fore chose for the Subject of the following  
Chapters.



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THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
TWO IMPOSTORS, &c.

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CHAP. I.

*Of the Impostor Lambert Simnel, and the  
Oxford Priest his Tutor.*

**T**HERE was a subtle ambitious Priest at Oxford, call'd *Richard Simon*, who had to his Pupil a Baker's, or as some say, a Shoemaker's Son, named *Lambert Simnel*, a Lad of very pregnant Parts, <sup>*Simnel's Person and Parts.*</sup> a comely graceful Youth, says Lord *Verulam*, of about fifteen Years old. The said Priest, upon the Rumor that King *Edward's* Children were not dead, but secretly convey'd into some Foreign Country, instructed him first to act the Part of the Second Son, *Richard Duke of York*; and he was such an apt Scholar, that he soon began to be possess'd with a

## The HISTORY of

The Priest  
and his  
Pupil re-  
ceiv'd by  
the *Irish*.

Notion of his Princely Extraction and Alliances, cou'd discourse of his Kindred both by the Father's and Mother's Side, knew the Titles with which he was to be saluted, and cou'd recapitulate the Court-Nobility, and his Friends that he expected wou'd be Supporters of his Claim; a Lesson which 'tis presum'd the Priest himself had learn'd from Persons better inform'd of Men and Things at Court than himself cou'd possibly be. But on another Rumor soon after, just as true as the former, that *Edward Plantagenet* Earl of *Warwick*, the only Male Heir of the House of *York*, then a Prisoner in the *Tower*, had made his Escape, to the great Joy of the People, the cunning Priest chang'd his Copy, and tutor'd him to personate the latter: And for fear the Counterfeit wou'd not pass in *England*, he sail'd with his Scholar to *Ireland* where the House of *York* was most belov'd. Upon his Arrival there, which was in 1486, he found all Matters as ripe for a Revolt as if it had been preconcerted. *Simon's* first Address was to the Lord *Thomas Fitz-Gerald*, Earl of *Kildare*, and Deputy of *Ireland*\*, before whose Eyes, says Lord *Verulam*, he cast such a Mist by his Insinuation, and by the Princely Deportment of his Pupil, that he did not doubt of his being the true *Plantagenet*: But 'tis more than probable the Earl was in the Plot. Be it as it will, he communicated the Matter first previously to others of the Nobility, who being as well affected as himself, they made no Secret of it, but founded the Inclination of the People, who, partly from their Devotion to the House of *York*, and partly from the Ambition of the Nation to give a King to the Realm

\* This Lord, according to Sir *James Ware's* Annals of this Reign, was Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*, and his Brother *Gerald*, Earl of *Kildare*, Deputy to *Jasper Duke of Bedford* Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*.

## LAMBERT SIMNEL.

of *England*, entertain'd the Phantom with incredible Affection, so that he was brought with great Solemnity to the Castle of *Dublin*, and by the Consent of the Council of State and the Magistrates of the City, there proclaim'd King by the Name of King *Edward VI.* without one Sword drawn on the part of King *Henry*. They then sent notice of it to the Disaffected in *England*, with a Request for a Supply of Money; but their chief Dependence was on the Assistance they implor'd from the abovemention'd Dukes of *Burgundy*.

The Pupil  
proclaim'd  
King.

King *Henry* being appriz'd of this Proceeding, and knowing the Depth of the Conspiracy, which however ridiculous it appear'd to him, gave him no little Vexation, he secretly call'd a Council at the Charter-house near *Sheen*, now *Richmond*, to consider how to pacify this sudden and unexpected Tumult and Conspiracy, without any farther Disturbance, or open Defiance. Two or three Decrees were immediately publish'd, by one of which it was order'd that *Edward Earl of Warwick*, who, as has been said, was then Prisoner in the *Tower*, shou'd be shew'd to the People in the most publick Manner, in order to defeat a Rumor, on the one hand, that he had been privately put to Death in the *Tower*, and on the other hand to convince the People that the *Plantagenet* shew'd in *Ireland* was a COUNTERFEIT.

By another Decree there was to be a Proclamation, with a General Pardon to all that wou'd confess their Offences, and submit themselves by such a Day. In pursuance of the first, *Edward Plantagenet* was carry'd through all the High Streets of *London*, on a *Sunday*, to be seen by the People, and conducted in solemn Procession to *St. Paul's Church*; but this had little or no Effect in *Ireland*, where, on the contrary, they turn'd the Imposture on the

General  
Pardon  
publish'd  
by King  
*Henry*, and  
the true  
Earl of  
*Warwick*  
shewn to  
the Peo-  
ple.



## The HISTORY of

King, and gave out, that the King to defeat the True Heir, and to deceive the World, had trick'd up a Boy in the Likeness of *Plantagenet*, and had not spar'd to profane the Ceremony of a Proceſſion, the more to countenance the Fable. The Readineſs with which the *Iriſh* had own'd the Impoſtor for Earl of *Warwick*, convinc'd the King that the Prieſt was not the firſt, nor principal Author of the Impoſture: He made no Queſtion but the Queen-Dowager his Mother-in-Law had a hand in it; and whether he had Proof, or only Suſpicion, he confin'd her in a Monaſtry, where ſhe ended her Days, at *Bermondſey* in *Surry*.

Queen Dowager committed to a Monaſtry.

A Reward publiſh'd for apprehending the Sham Earl of *Warwick*.

Orders were given at the ſame time for keeping ſtriſt watch at the Ports, that Fugitives, Malecontents, or ſuſpected Perſons might not paſs over into *Ireland* or *Flanders*: And a thouſand Pounds Reward was publiſh'd to any one who wou'd preſent the State with the counterſeit *Plantagenet's* Body.

Earl of *Lincoln's* Attachment to him.

Mean while *John* Earl of *Lincoln*, Son to *John de la Pole* Duke of *Suffolk*, and of *Elizabeth* King *Edward* the IVth's eldeſt Siſter, who was by his Uncle *Richard* the III'd, declar'd Preſumptive Heir of the Crown, knew the pretended *Plantagenet* to be but an Idol or a Bubble; yet he was encourag'd to eſpouſe his Part by Letters from the Duchefs of *Burgundy* who was his Aunt; and no doubt he was ſure he ſhou'd eaſily deſtroy him when he had made him his Tool to dethrone King *Henry*. Accordingly he ſail'd ſecretly over to *Flanders*, where he was receiv'd with a perfect Welcome, and met by Lord \* *Lovel* and ſome others of the Party; and it was immediately reſolv'd that theſe two Lords ſhou'd paſs over to *Ireland* to the new King, and

\* This was *Francis* Viſcount *Lovel*, who had been Lord Chamberlain to King *Richard* the III'd.

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be supported by Money, and two thousand *Germans* or *Almains*, choice Veteran Troops under the Command of *Martin Swart*, a valiant and experienc'd General. Their Lordships being accordingly arriv'd in *Ireland*, where they found *Simnel* had already rais'd an Army, their Party grew very confident of their future Success, crown'd their new King in *Christ-church*, the Cathedral of *Dublin* \*, and resolv'd in Council to transport their Forces with all possible Speed into *England*, and to give King *Henry* Battle wherever they met him, in which if they succeeded the said Lords propos'd to set aside this counterfeit Earl of *Warwick*, and deliver the true one out of Prison. The History of *Ireland* says, that this pretended Sovereign call'd a kind of Parliament, wherein the Clergy granted the *Pope* a Subsidy, for fear of being troubled by the Court of *Rome* on account of these Proceedings.

His Coronation.

He calls a Parliament.

King *Henry*, who thought all the Danger was over when he had satisfy'd the Nobility, &c. by the personal Appearance of the true Earl of *War-*

\* He was carried to the Castle, says *Speed*, on tall Men's Shoulders that he might be seen and known, and he was crown'd with a Crown taken from the Statue of the *Virgin Mary* in our *Lady's Church*. Dr. *Páyn*, Bishop of *Meath*, preach'd his Coronation Sermon, and the Deputy, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Earl of *Lincoln*, Lord *Lovel*, and many more Persons of Quality assisted at the Ceremony: Sir *James Ware* says, the Primate of all *Ireland*, viz. the Archbishop of *Armagh* refus'd to attend at it: But that he did assist at it is very plain from a Bull of the then *Pope*, to be seen in *Rymer's Fædera*, Tome XII, and dated at *Rome* the Nones of *January* 1488, commissioning certain Bishops to draw up Informations against the Archbishops of *Armagh* and *Dublin*, and the other Prelates who had assisted in the Coronation of *Lambert Simnel*. And it appears from another Record, in the same Tome of the *Fædera*, that there were but these Bishops who refus'd to acknowledge this new King, viz. the Archbishops of *Cassell* and *Tuam*, and the Bishops of *Clogher* and *Offory*.

wick,

## The HISTORY of

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wick,

## The HISTORY of

wick, flighted the News from *Ireland*, where he did not doubt of soon dispersing the Swarm of Bees with their King; but when he heard that the Earl of *Lincoln*, Lord *Lovel*, and the Dukes of *Burgundy*, with others, were confederated in the Undertaking, and that they had rais'd a strong Party determin'd to give him Battle, he then saw plainly that the Kingdom must be again put to the stake, and that he must fight for it. Being apprehensive of an Invasion on the East Parts of *England* from *Flanders*, or on the North-west Parts from *Ireland*, he order'd Musters to be made in both Parts, and took a Journey himself towards *Suffolk* and *Norfolk*, kept his Christmas at *Norwich*, and from thence went to *Walsingham* \*, where he visited the Shrine of the *Virgin Mary*, and made his Prayers and Vows for Help and Deliverance, after which he return'd by *Cambridge* to *London*.

King Henry's Pilgrimage to our Lady of *Walsingham*.

Not long after this, the Rebels Army, consisting as yet principally of the *Germans* or *High-Dutch* sent over by the Dukes of *Burgundy*, and a Multitude of beggarly *Irish*, who, according to the *Roman* Saying, were many *Men* and few *Soldiers*, and arm'd only with Daggers, and here and there a Dart, landed at the *Pile of Fouldrey*, near *Lancaster*, with their King, under the Command of the Earls of *Lincoln* and *Kildare*, the Lord *Lovel* and Colonel *Swart*, and were there join'd by Sir *Thomas Broughton*, with a small Company of *English*.

Rebels Arrival in *Lancashire*.

King Henry's March to the North.

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Earl of *Oxford*, march'd to *Coventry* where his Forces were to rendezvous. Here he had a List brought him of the Names of the chief Traitors, and had an Account also from his Spies of their Number and Designs. From thence he remov'd to *Nottingham*, and encamp'd near a Wood call'd *Bowers*, where he was join'd by many Noblemen with sufficient Forces to encounter much better than those that had presum'd to invade his Dominions.

The Rebels took their way towards *York*, without committing any Spoil or Act of Hostility, the better to gain the Good-will of the People, and to endear their new King to them; but their Numbers did not increase as they went on, nor did any rise or declare themselves for him in any other Parts of the Kingdom; which our noble Author *Verulam* ascrib'd partly to the good Taste that King *Henry* had given his Subjects of his Government, and partly to their Hatred of a King brought in to them on the Shoulders of *Irish* and *Dutch*, of which their Army was in substance compounded. The Earl of *Lincoln* being deceiv'd in his Hopes of being join'd by People of the Countries through which he pass'd, and having gone too far to recede with any sort of Safety, resolv'd to give King *Henry* battle, and march'd towards *Newark*, which he thought to have surpris'd; but the King was advanc'd before this Time to *Nottingham*, and posted himself betwixt *Newark* and the Enemy's Camp. The Earl, not at all daunted, advanc'd that Day to a Village call'd *Stoke*, where he encamp'd the same Night on the Brow of a Hill. Next Day, viz. the Sixth of *June* 1487, he came down courageously and join'd battle with the King upon the Plain, but after a Fight of about three Hours was entirely defeated, and lost his Life in the Field, as did most of the Commanders, and

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The Rebels defeated at *Stokefields*

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*Simnel*  
taken,  
made first  
a Turnspit  
in the  
King's  
Kitchen;  
and after-  
wards his  
Falconer.

The Priest  
clapp'd  
into a  
Dungeon.

above four thousand Soldiers \*. The Lord *Lovel*, who was suppos'd to have been kill'd in the Field, or drown'd in the *Trent*, was never more seen. Among the Prisoners was the counterfeit *Plantagenet*, (now again *Lambert Simnel*) and the crafty Priest his Tutor. As for *Lambert*, he being question'd, says Mr. *Speed*, how such a Boy as he, that was as it were but just breech'd, durst attempt so great a Wickedness, he did not deny that he was compell'd to it by certain bad Persons who were of that Conspiracy; and as for his Parents Quality, he confess'd them to be such as indeed they were, altogether of base and despicable Calling. The King therefore considering him only as a Puppet, or an *Image* of Wax which others had temper'd and moulded; that if he put him to death he wou'd be too soon forgotten; and that if he was kept alive he wou'd be a constant Spectacle, and a kind of Antidote against the like Inchantments of People for time to come; on these Considerations his Majesty spar'd his Life, and tho' Fortune, as my Lord *Verulam* observes, seldom brings in a Comedy or Farce after a Tragedy, he put him first into his Kitchen to turn the Spit, but afterwards made him one of his Falconers. As to the Priest he was shut up close Prisoner in a Dungeon, and never heard of more.

\* This Battle was fought, according to *Polydore Virgil*, in the Year 1485, but this is not one of the least of the Mistakes in his History. Some say it was fought on the 16th of *June*: Sir *J. Ware* will have it to be on the 20th; but whatever was the Day of the Month, *Saturday* was the Day of the Week, according to Mr. *Speed*, who says, that it had been often observ'd to be a lucky Day to King *Henry*.



C H A P. II.

*Of the Nobility that came in to the Aid of King Henry at Nottingham, and the Speech his Majesty made to the Army just before the Battle of Stoke, &c.*

**M**R. *SPEED* has recorded the Names of the Nobility, &c. who repair'd to the King's Standard after his Arrival in *Nottinghamshire*, which, *says he*, well deserve to be remember'd for the Honour both of themselves, and their Families. Besides *George Talbot* Earl of *Sbrewsbury*, *George Lord Strange* his Son, *Edward Lord Hastings*, and Sir *John Gheinie*, who came with their Attendants, he mentions the Surnames of about sixty more Persons of Distinction and Fortune, which are thus spelt in his History, viz. *Longford, Montgomerie, Vernon of the Peak, Shurley, Folgehan, Grisley, Sutton, Stanley, Houghton, Meryng, Stanhop, Clifton, Stapleton, Willoughby, Perpoint, Babington, Bedyll, Brudenel, Markham, Merbury, Borough, Tyrwit, Horsey, Sheffield, Newport, Ormeston, Tempest, Knyvett, Digby, Harrington, Sacheverel, Vyllers, Fylding, Poultney, Vaux, Gryne, Gryfin, Lucy, Belknap, Throgmorton, Gray of Rutbin, Wolston, Fynder, Philips, Cotton, St. John, Mordant, Terell, Rainsford, Paynton, Daniel, Marney, Arundel, Ogle, Nevile, Latimer, Bulmer, Langford, Norres, and Williams.*

To the same Historian the Public is obliged for the Speech which King *Henry* made to the Army just before the Battle above-mention'd. It runs as follows, viz.

' Most faithful Lords, and you most valiant  
' Companions in Arms, who have (together with  
' us) endured so great Peril by Land and Sea, loe  
' we

The  
King's  
Speech to  
his Army  
before, the  
Battle of  
Stoke.

' we are again, against our Wills, drawn to try  
 ' our Fortunes in another Field \*. For the Earl of  
 ' *Lincoln*, (a perjured Man) without any occasion  
 ' ministred by us, defends an unjust Quarrel against  
 ' us: Neither doth he it dissemblingly, but most  
 ' openly impudent, without any fear of God, not so  
 ' much only to endamage us, as to fulfil the Humour  
 ' of a giddie and intemperate tongued Woman, who  
 ' is not ignorant that her Blood was extinguish'd by  
 ' her Brother *Richard*; but because that Line did  
 ' always maintain a most deadly Fewd against ours,  
 ' she (without any great Regard to her Neice, my  
 ' dearest Consort) assays to destroy us, as well as our  
 ' Posterity. Ye see therefore how often we are pro-  
 ' voked by them, but they shall not carry it away  
 ' unrevenged. God therefore and his holy Angels  
 ' we first call to witness, that we are provident both  
 ' Night and Day for your Safety, and for the com-  
 ' mon Quiet; though thus the ancient Enemy re-  
 ' pugneth. But God, a just, strong, and patient  
 ' Judge, will also bring a Remedy to this Evil:  
 ' In the mean time, we exhort and admonish you,  
 ' that the Consideration of our just Inheritance be  
 ' at this present more forceable with you than their  
 ' Wickedness; neither doubt but that the same God,  
 ' who in the former War made us victorious, will  
 ' enable us to triumph now also over these Enemies.  
 ' Let us therefore set upon them couragiously, for  
 ' God is upon our Side to assist us.'

After the Battle, King *Henry* sent his Royal Stan-  
 dard to our Lady's Church at *Walsingham*, to re-  
 main there as a Monument of his Victory, and he  
 made a Progress to *Lincoln* and *York*, which Lord

\* This alludes to a Rebellion of the Lord *Lovel* and the two  
*Staffords*, which had been just quieted in *Yorkshire*, without  
 scarce a Drop of Bloodshed, by the Submission of the Malecon-  
 tents on the Offer of a Pardon.

*Verulam* observes was more like an *Itinerary Circuit of Justice*: For in his Way many Persons were try'd for corresponding with the Rebels, and most of them fin'd by Commissioners of his own Appointment, or by a Court Martial. 'Tis certain, as Mr. *Rapin* says, that upon this occasion the King discover'd his avaricious Temper, for tho' he pretended to favour the Guilty, by sparing their Lives, he stripp'd them of their Possessions. There were many Persons accus'd, not of having assisted the Rebels, but of having rais'd and dispers'd a Report some Days before the Battle, that the Royal Army was cut in Pieces; a Rumor propagated purely to discourage his Majesty's Friends from bringing him Forces. As the King's sole Aim was to fill his Coffers by the Fines and Forfeitures, the Persons he commissioned for Judges were the fittest he could chuse for his purpose.

His avaricious Temper.

When the King had thus fleec'd the guilty or suspected Persons, he sent for a Papal Commission to empower the Archbishop of *Canterbury* to absolve those Rebels that had incurr'd the Penalty of Excommunication decreed by a former Bull. In this Commission the Pope said, 'He took it for granted that they who had attempted to disturb King Henry in the Possession of the Crown were stung with bitter Remorse, and that he was therefore moved in Charity for them to ease their Consciences.'

A Bull from the Pope in Favour of the Rebels.

The King having had frequent Proofs in his late Progress, that his Prejudice to the House of *York*, and his Delay of crowning his Queen, were the main Springs of the Peoples Discontent, caused her to be crown'd on the 25th of *November* following; but as it was believ'd that he did it more out of Fear of the People, than out of Love to her, he was not thank'd for it.

[Coronation of the Queen.]



## C H A P. III.

*The History of the Impostor PERKIN WARBECK, who personated the Duke of York.*

How *Perkin* was found out by the *Duchess of Burgundy*.

His promising Parts.

**T**H<sup>O</sup> *Lambert Simnel* had miscarry'd in his Enterprize, yet the *Duchess Dowager of Burgundy*, who imputed his ill Success not so much to the Project, as to the Managers of it, did not despair still of seeing the Crown wrested from the House of *Lancaster*. She now spread a Report, either by herself, or her Emissaries, that *Richard Duke of York*, second Son of King *Edward the Fourth* (tho' he was murder'd in the *Tower* with his Brother *Edward the Fifth*,) had escap'd the Cruelty of his Uncle *Richard the Third*, and was still alive; for that the *Russians* sent to kill both the Brothers, having destroy'd the Elder first, had some remorse and compassion towards the Younger, and privately set him at Liberty to seek his Fortune. This she did to prepare People to receive a *Second Phantom*, who was to personate the young Prince her Nephew, as *Lambert Simnel* had personated the Earl of *Warwick*. To this end she caus'd diligent Search to be made for Striplings of the Duke of *York's* Age fit for her Purpose; and at length she met with one that she thought had all the Qualities requisite to make him pass for the said Duke. She fix'd her Eyes on a Youth not quite sixteen, of Visage beautiful, of Countenance majestical, of Wit subtle and crafty; in Education pregnant, in Languages skilful; a Lad in short of a fine Shape, bewitching Behaviour, and very audacious. This, as Lord *Verulam* aptly expresses it, was a finer *Counterfeit Stone* than *Lambert Simnel*, better done, and worn upon greater Hands, as not only by the *Duchess of Burgundy*,

*gundy*, but by the Kings of *France and Scotland*.

*John Osbeck*, a Convert-Jew of *Tournay*, where he had born some Office, having marry'd to *Catharine de Faro*, came with her upon Business to *London*, where after having liv'd some time, in the Reign of King *Edward* the Fourth, she was deliver'd of a Son, (the Subject of this History) to whom the King did the Parents the Honour to stand Godfather, and gave him the Name of *Peter*. He was afterwards call'd by the Diminutive *Peterkin*, or *Perkin*, a Dutch Nick-name for a Youngster that is cowardly and timorous; and Lord *Verulam* intimates, that, at first, he was dainty and effeminate, tho' 'tis evident that he was afterwards very audacious and enterprizing. As for the Surname of *Warbeck*, which was fasten'd upon him by Common Fame at first, for want of better Information, it stuck by him to the last, even after his true Name was known to be *Osbeck*. The Lad was so handsom, and had so many Qualities superior to his Birth, that it was generally believ'd King *Edward* was his Father; and indeed it was pretty extraordinary, or at least very suspicious, as Lord *Verulam* says, that so wanton a Prince should become Gossip in so mean a House.

The Father, returning some Years after to *Flanders*, plac'd young *Perkin* with *John Stenbeck* one of his Kinsmen at *Antwerp*, by whom he was kept some time, but he afterwards liv'd in several Towns of that Country, where he generally convers'd with the *English*, and was so perfect in their Tongue, that he might easily be taken for an *Englishman*, especially as he had spent his Childhood in *London*: But he chang'd his Habitation in the *Low-Countries* so often, that when King *Henry* afterwards wanted to know *who*, *what*, and *whence* this Wanderer

C

(or

His  
Parentage,  
Godfather  
and true  
Surname.

His  
Ramble in  
*Flanders*.

(or *Landloper*, as he call'd him) was, he found it very difficult to trace him.

How he  
was tu-  
tor'd by  
the Du-  
chess of  
*Burgundy*.

Being by Command of the Duchess of *Burgundy* brought privately to her Palace, she found him presently fit for her Purpose, and took care to instruct him thoroughly with respect to the Person whom he was to represent, by teaching him a Princely Behavior, yet with a modest Sense of his Misfortunes. She so often describ'd to him the Personages, Lineaments, and Features of his pretended Parents *Edward* the Fourth and his Queen, Prince *Edward* their eldest Son, and the Princesses their Daughters; and inform'd him so minutely of all Circumstances relating to them, some secret, others publick, those especially that were fit for the Notice and Remembrance of one so young, that after several Repetitions of her Lesson, he cou'd talk very pertinently and naturally of the Court of the King his pretended Father, at least as far as the Duke of *York*, whom he was to personate, cou'd be suppos'd to know: And the Duchess was sure he wou'd not fail to gain Credit when he appear'd in the World. She took care, above all things, to guard him against certain ensnaring Questions that might be ask'd him, and to make him perfect in what he was to frame whilst in Sanctuary with the Queen, and when taken from thence by Contrivance of King *Richard* the Third, and particularly in the Manner of escaping the Hands of the Executioners who were order'd to murder him. These were Particulars so much the easier to be counterfeited, as there were but few People who cou'd contradict them. In fine, *Perkin* took his Lessons so well, that in a short Time he behav'd in such a manner that one wou'd have sworn he had been born and bred in a Palace, and that he had quite forgot his Original.

'Tis



'Tis suppos'd that the Duchess took him home to instruct him, not long after the other Impostor *Simnel's* Defeat in the Battle of *Stoke*. Be this as it will, the Affair of *Bretagne* inducing her to think that there wou'd soon be a Rupture betwixt *England* and *France*, she resolv'd that *Perkin* shou'd appear as Duke of *York*, as soon as ever that War began; but being very apprehensive, that if he started first in *Flanders*, or any where in the Low-Countries, or that if he went directly from thence to *Ireland*, the World wou'd not fail to suspect her, she sent him with the Lady *Brampton*, an *English* Lady, and another, who was her Confident, to have an Eye over him, to *Portugal*, where he liv'd incog. for a Year. At length, in 1492, the War betwixt King *Henry* and *France* seeming unavoidable, she dispatch'd Orders to *Perkin* to repair to *Ireland*, where she thought the People wou'd be glad of this Occasion to revenge the late Slaughter of their Countrymen at *Stoke*, in the Cause of *Lambert Simnel*: And 'tis scarce to be doubted but she had already been tampering with several Persons of Note. *Perkin*, who instantly obey'd her Commands, arriving at *Cork*, call'd himself Duke of *York*, Son of *Edward* the Fourth, wherein he was countenanc'd by the Mayor, who very likely was in the Plot. A few Days after his Landing, he notify'd it to the Earls of *Desmond* and *Kildare*, great Friends of the House of *York*, and desir'd them to come and join him. To shew how he play'd the Orator, we shall insert the Harangue he made to those Lords, as 'tis preserv'd in a Tract of the *Harleian* Library, printed in 1618, and dedicated to the Earl of *Arundel*.

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## The HISTORY of

His Harangue to the Earls of *Desmond*  
and *Kildare*.

*My worthy Lords, and gracious Friends,*

‘ FOR the Generality of my Business, I hope you  
‘ are not unacquainted with many Instances of  
‘ distressed Princes flying from one to another for  
‘ Refuge and Succour, when an over-daring Hand  
‘ of a more mighty Enemy hath suppress’d them :  
‘ For so *Jeroboam* and *Hadad* the *Edomite* were en-  
‘ tertain’d in the Court of *Pharaoh*, merely from  
‘ charitable Commiseration, against *Solomon*, who  
‘ had yet formerly marry’d a Daughter of *Pha-  
‘ raoh* ; and amongst ourselves, the Sons of that  
‘ valiant *Edmund Ironside* fled from *Canutus* into  
‘ *Hungary*, and were there protected ; yea, ad-  
‘ vanc’d in Marriage, for the farther and better re-  
‘ covering their Inheritances. But what need I go  
‘ farther than the Usurper now reigning, who, in  
‘ spite of my Father, and Uncle of *Glocester*, was  
‘ entertain’d by the Duke of *Bretagne* and the  
‘ *French* King, and, as it were, secur’d from all  
‘ Treasons and Corruption, or, if you will, Policy  
‘ of Searchers, to bring him to Destruction ; where-  
‘ in, questionless, those Princes, as they obtain’d a  
‘ perpetual Renown for so noble and glorious a  
‘ Charity, so did they repute nothing so merito-  
‘ rious as the Extension of Favour, and a helping  
‘ Hand to the perfecting such a Work, from  
‘ Princely Compassion : Therefore I will say the  
‘ less, in this Point, unto you, because you have ever  
‘ been faithful to my Progenitors, and willing to  
‘ be counted a Nation for the Defence of Virtue,  
‘ and repulsing of Injuries. As for the ill Success  
‘ of *Lambert* in personating my Cousin, the Earl  
‘ of *Warwick*, and setting afoot that Title, where-  
‘ by

' by you may be terrified in future Prosecutions ;  
 ' Alas ! I confess it was for my Sake, and a meer  
 ' Device to found the Ford of the troublesome  
 ' Streams of these Times and Proceedings, wherein  
 ' if my Uncle of *Lincoln* had any way thriv'd, you  
 ' must be assur'd, tho' they would not hazard my  
 ' Person so young, yet it was only to make way  
 ' to my Fortunes : For small Recompence should  
 ' have stopp'd his Mouth, *ut major lux extin-*  
 ' *guil minorem*, and my Presence quickly have  
 ' turn'd the Stream, and, as the Sun, exhal'd the  
 ' Strength of this Meteor. This Trick my Grand-  
 ' father put upon the State, when he was Governor  
 ' amongst you, by *Jack Cade* of *Kent*, who pro-  
 ' claim'd himself *Mortimer*, to see how the People  
 ' affected the Title, or could remember the Ge-  
 ' nealogy in the Truth of his Precedency, as mar-  
 ' rying the Daughter of *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*,  
 ' third Son of our Great *Edward* the Third of  
 ' *England*, and Hero of his Time ; so that I hope  
 ' this shall be no Bar or Interception either to my  
 ' Interest, or your Good-will, considering I am  
 ' now come in Person to offer up myself a Sacri-  
 ' fice, if need be, for you all, and promise you,  
 ' by the Secrets of my Birth-right, to make you a  
 ' glorious and free Nation under me, if I prevail  
 ' by your Means.'

These Words were utter'd with so much Assu-  
 rance, and the Air of Majesty, that their Lordships,  
 not once suspecting any Art or Craft in the matter,  
 exalted and applauded him with all due Reverence,  
 Honour, and affectionate Obedience.

The Report, that the Duke of *York* was come  
 from *Portugal* into *Ireland*, caus'd no Alteration  
 however in the Measures of King *Henry*, who be-  
 liev'd it to be only a Contrivance to divert him

*Charles*  
the Eighth  
King of  
*France*  
sends for  
him.

Receives  
him as  
Duke of  
*York*.

Dismisses  
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from his intended Enterprize against the *French* King; but being told, soon after, that the Duke was gone from thence to *France*, it made him very uneasy. And indeed this News was but too true; for *Charles* the Eighth hearing of him, verily believ'd that, tho' he was an Impostor, he might be serviceable to him, either in heading an Army against, or in making a Peace with King *Henry*, and therefore sent to invite him into *France*, with Assurance of his Protection and Assistance to recover the Crown of his Ancestors. *Perkin*, without a Moment's Hesitation, set out for the Court of a Prince so capable of assisting him, and was very graciously receiv'd by the King, who treated him as Duke of *York*, lodg'd him in his Palace, and assign'd him a Guard (of which the Lord of *Congreschal* was Captain) under Colour of doing him Honour, but in reality to prevent his being seiz'd by Order of King *Henry*. The *French* Courtiers, like their Master, strove to pay the same Respects to *Perkin* as they would have done to the Duke of *York*. Not long after, Sir *George Nevil* the Bastard, Sir *John Tailor*, *Rowland Robinson*, and above a hundred Malecontents came from *England* to *Paris*, with Offers of their Service to the Pretender: And among others that repair'd to him was *Stephen Frion*, who had been King *Henry's* Secretary for the *French* Tongue, and now, and for a long time after, follow'd the Fortune of *Perkin*; and was indeed his principal Counsellor and Agent. But his Honours at this Court were of no long Continuance, for as soon as *Charles* was almost sure of a Peace, he warn'd him away, and dismiss'd him, for fear that *Henry*, who now demanded him, should make it one of the Articles of the Treaty. He was loth, on the one Hand, to be suspected of any Share in delivering him up, as, on the other hand, he would not have had the

Peace



Peace miscarry upon his Account.\* Mean time it was surmis'd by some, that the *French* King intended to deliver him into the Hands of the King of *England*, and that therefore he deceiv'd the Lord *Congresbal*, and fled from *Paris* by Night: But whether he went with the King's Consent, or not, *Perkin* was glad to leave the *French* Court, when he heard of a Peace so far advanc'd betwixt the two Kings, and retir'd to *Flanders* to the Duchefs of *Burgundy*, taking great care not to discover he had ever seen her before. The Duchefs, who thought every Hour a whole Year till he return'd, notwithstanding her Amazement to hear how he was dismiss'd from the *French* Court, receiv'd him with the most tender Embraces, and, hanging over his Neck, seem'd to shed Tears of Joy and Comfort for his Escape from so many Dangers and Difficulties: but at the first publick Interview betwixt them, as *Perkin* took care not to discover that he had ever seen her before, but that he came thither as into a Port from the Tempests of Fortune, the Duchefs pretended to treat him very roughly, and seem'd much surpriz'd that he should dare to stile himself Duke of *York* in her Presence. She publicly declar'd, that having been once impos'd upon before by a Sham Earl of *Warwick* in the Person of *Lambert Simnel*, she should be more upon her Guard against Counterfeits for the future, and therefore she advis'd him to be gone, for fear of incurring the Punishment due to his Assurance. *Perkin*, who seem'd to confess she had reason to be suspicious, persisted nevertheless in affirming that he was the Duke of *York* her Nephew. The Duchefs, feigning a Desire to convince him of Imposture before her whole Court, put certain Questions to him, to which she knew he could make pertinent Answers; and he reply'd accordingly in so natural and unaffected a manner,

He goes to the Duchefs of *Burgundy*, who pretends as if she thought him a Cheat.

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## The HISTORY of

manner, that the Duchess seem'd to be astonish'd. In short, they acted their Parts so well, that the Duchess, pretending the Proofs were irresistible, own'd him for her Nephew, inferr'd that, God, who had preserv'd him from so much Danger, did no doubt reserve him for some Great Fortune, assign'd him a Guard of 30 Halberdiers, and gave him the Title of the *White Rose of England*, the Symbol of the House of York. O dissembling Hypocrisy! says an Author (*speaking of this Fact*,) that ever a Woman should be the Author of such devilish Devices, and hellish Projects; and yet over-dawb her mischievous Imaginations with the Pretence of Love and Pity for a *Prince in Distress*: He quotes a pertinent Exclamation against such False Women, by *Hippolytus* in *Euripides*, but adds that we are taught this from God's own Mouth, who in several Places of Scripture hath declar'd wherein a bad Woman doth exceed all the Creatures of the World. *Perkin*, on his part, strove to convince Mankind, by his natural way of relating the chief Passages of his Life, that he was the genuin Duke of York. Nay, says Lord *Verulam*, by often telling a Lye he was transform'd, by Habit, almost into the Thing he pretended to be, and from a *Liar* to a *Believer*. If at any time his Dismission out of *France* was objected to him, he answer'd with a Sigh, that it was not very strange that a young Prince, persecuted by Fortune, shou'd be sacrific'd to the Policy and Ambition of two powerful Monarchs; and, that as the Peace between *Charles* and *Henry* cou'd only be establish'd on his Ruin, the Objection was rather a strong Argument in his Favour. In short, what he said pleas'd the Duchess more and more, and satisfy'd the whole Court that he was the true Duke of York, so that the Rumor spread from thence throughout all *Europe*.

The Duchess at last owns him.

News

News coming to *England* about the Beginning of the Year 1493, that the Duke of *York* was in *Flanders*, and own'd by the Duchess of *Burgundy*, the same was really credited by an infinite Number of People, some out of Disaffection to the King, and others out of Love to Novelty. Some implicitly follow'd their Leaders, and others, whose Fortunes were desperate, wish'd for a Change of Government. At the same time the Loss of *Bretagne*, the late Peace with the *French* King, the uncivil Treatment of the Queen, and the whole House of *York*, and the unnecessary Taxes impos'd by the King, were but too apt to make the People wish the Report were true.

Mean while the King's avaricious Disposition having alienated several of his firmest Friends from his Person and Family, they not only countenanc'd the Rumor about the Duke of *York*, but form'd a Conspiracy to dethrone him, and deputed Sir Robert Clifford, one of their Number, to *Flanders*, to concert Measures with the Duchess of *Burgundy* and the pretended Duke of *York*. He was cordially receiv'd by the Duchess, who thought it a good Omen that the profess'd Enemies of her House, as the Heads of the Conspiracy generally were, should be the first to offer their Service for restoring her Family to the Throne of *England*. Clifford, after having been presented also to the Impostor, wrote to his Friends here, that the Duke of *York*, Son to *Edward IV*, was in *Flanders*, and that he knew him perfectly well. He added, that, as the Queen of *Sheba* told *Solomon*, she did not believe the half of what was reported, till she had seen it with her own Eyes, so he cou'd not be persuaded to believe what was rumor'd of this Person till he had actually seen him. This News so encourag'd the Conspirators, that they spar'd no Pains from that Instant

Many in *England* believe the Duke of *York* to be still alive.

Conspiracy against the King.

Clifford one of the Plotters, sent over to *Perkin*.

He sends back Word that the Duke of *York* is really alive.

stant to gain Adherents to the pretended Duke of York.

King Henry having sent certain Knights, with a Band of Soldiers, into every Port, to guard the Shores and Sea-Coasts, that none might come in or go out of the Kingdom without being search'd or examin'd; and having also order'd the Lieutenants and Justices into their respective Countries, to keep the People in Obedience, thought it principally concern'd him to undeceive the People with regard to the Duke of York, and that to succeed in this there was occasion for two kinds of Proof: First, to shew that the Duke of York was dead: Secondly, that tho' he were alive, the Person who borrow'd his Name was a Counterfeit. To prove the former, it was necessary to produce the Testimonies of those who had taken away his Life, or seen him dead, and who were but four in all, viz. Sir James Tyrrel, order'd by Richard III. to put that Prince to death; John Dighton, whom Tyrrel employ'd to commit the Fact; Miles Forrest, his Servant, who assisted him; and the Priest of the Tower, by whom the two Princes were buried. Of these the Priest and Forrest were dead, and there remain'd only Tyrrel and Dighton. These were by the King's Order committed to Prison. Then, after a private Examination, it was given out that they agreed in their Depositions, namely, that Dighton and Forrest smother'd the Duke of York and his Brother in their Bed, and shew'd their dead Bodies to Tyrrel, and that the Priest afterwards bury'd them under a Stair-Case: and that soon after, Richard order'd them to be remov'd elsewhere by the same Priest, who was since dead, without discovering where he had laid them. Nevertheless these Testimonies did not produce the Effect which the King expected, so that his Majesty apply'd himself chiefly to let the People know who

this

Henry  
orders the  
Murderers  
of the  
Duke of  
York to be  
examin'd.



this Impostor was that pretended to be the Duke of York.

For this purpose he brib'd several Persons, who repair'd to the counterfeit Duke, on pretence of offering him their Service. He charg'd them to make all possible Inquiry who he was, from whence he came, and to trace him from his very Birth, to the Duchess of *Burgundy*. They were also to learn who were his Correspondents in *England*, and, in short, to observe narrowly every thing that pass'd about him. Moreover, to procure his Spies the greater Credit, he us'd to have them curs'd by Name every Sunday at *St. Paul's*, by virtue of the Pope's Bull. He was so well serv'd by these Spies, that he had perfect Intimation of *Perkin's* Birth, Life, Actions, Profession, and of all the Places he had liv'd at from his Childhood, which his Majesty took care to have speedily divulg'd throughout the Kingdom; but the People's Prejudice against the King made them require more convincing Proofs than the Particulars publish'd by his bare Word.

He sends Spies to Flanders.

And, in order to conceal them, has them excommunicated.

*Henry* having had perfect Information of every thing relating to *Warbeck*, sent Sir *Edward Poynings* and *William Warham*, L. L. D. Ambassadors to the Archduke *Philip*, to desire him to deliver up this Theatrical King, as he term'd him, form'd by the Duchess of *Burgundy*; and to represent at the same time, that it was contrary to the Law of Nations, and the Alliance betwixt them, to protect a Counterfeit, who sought to rob him of the Crown by a manifest Imposture. Their particular Instructions were, 1. To declare, that the young Man, resident among them with the Lady *Margaret*, was descended of a base and obscure Parentage, having falsely usurp'd the Name of *Richard Duke of York*, who long before was murder'd in the *Tower*, with his Brother the Prince, by Commandment of King *Richard*.

He demands Warbeck of the Archduke.

*Richard* their Uncle, as many Men living could testify. 2. That, from the Probability of the Matter, and Inforcement of Reason, there was no likelihood that King *Richard*, dispossessing the Prince both of his Life and Kingdom, would leave the other Brother still to affright him, and trouble him in his Government. 3. That Queen *Elizabeth* their Mother was attainted in Parliament for surrendering her Daughters into the Tyrant's Custody, and committing them into his Hands, who, she knew, had already murder'd their Brothers. 4. To desire the Archduke, and the principal Lords of his Council, not to give any Credit to such Illusions, nor suffer themselves to be any more blinded or seduced with Impostures, or shadowing Appearances of Truth. Lastly, To remember how King *Henry* had (some few Years since) succour'd and relieved *Maximilian*, their principal Lord, almost oppress'd and overcome with the foreign Hostility of the French King, and intestine Rebellion of his own Subjects; and therefore it must be unprincely, and a Point of great Ingratitude, either directly or indirectly, to abet or maintain any Traitor or traiterous Practices against him, or the Peace and Tranquillity of his Kingdom.

The Ambassadors were honourably receiv'd by the Archduke and his Council, and Dr. *Warham* made a Speech on this occasion to *Philip's* Council, he being then a Minor, which is given us by Lord *Verulam*, the Historian of this Reign, and may not be improper to be republish'd here.

*Dr. Warham's Speech to PHILIP's Council.*

*My Lords,*

THE King, our Master is very sorry that *England*, and your Country here of *Flanders*, having been counted as *Man* and *Wife* for so long time, this Country, of all others, shou'd be the Stage

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' Stage where a base Counterfeit shou'd play the  
 ' Part of a King of *England*, not only to his  
 ' Grace's Disquiet and Dishonour, but to the Scorn  
 ' and Reproach of all Sovereign Princes. To  
 ' counterfeit the dead Image of a King in his Coin  
 ' is a high Offence by all Laws; but to counter-  
 ' feit the living Image of a King in his Person ex-  
 ' ceedeth all Falsifications, except it should be that  
 ' of a *Mahomet*, or an Anti-Christ that counterfeit  
 ' Divine Honour. The King hath too great an  
 ' Opinion of this sage Council, to think that any  
 ' of you is caught with this Fable, (though Way  
 ' may be given by you to the Passion of some) the  
 ' thing in itself is so improbable. To set Testi-  
 ' monies aside of the Death of Duke *Richard*, which  
 ' the King hath upon Record plain and infallible,  
 ' (because they may be thought to be in the King's  
 ' own Power) let the thing testify for itself; Sense  
 ' and Reason no Power can command. Is it pos-  
 ' sible (trowe you) that King *Richard* should damn  
 ' his Soul, and foul his Name, with so abominable  
 ' a Murder, and yet not mend his Case? Or do you  
 ' think that Men of Blood (that were his Instru-  
 ' ments) did turn to Pity in the midst of their  
 ' Execution? Whereas in cruel and savage Beasts,  
 ' and Men also, the first Draught of Blood doth  
 ' yet make them more fierce and enraged. Do  
 ' you not know that the bloody Executioners of  
 ' Tyrants do go to such Errand with an Halter  
 ' about their Neck; so that if they perform not  
 ' they are sure to die for it? And do you think  
 ' that these Men wou'd hazard their own Lives for  
 ' sparing another's? Admit they shou'd have sav'd  
 ' him, what shou'd they have done with him?  
 ' Turn him into *London* Streets, that the Watch-  
 ' men, or any Passenger that shou'd light upon him,  
 ' might carry him before a Justice, and so all come  
 ' to



' to light? Or should they have kept him by them se-  
 ' cretly? That surely would have requir'd a great  
 ' deal of Care, Charge, and continual Fears. But (my  
 ' Lords) I labour too much in a clear Business. The  
 ' King is so wise, and hath so good Friends abroad,  
 ' as now he knoweth Duke *Perkin* from his Cra-  
 ' dle. And because he is a Great *Prince*, if you have  
 ' any good Poet here, he can help him with Notes  
 ' to write his Life, and to parallel him with *Lam-*  
 ' *bert Simnel*, now the King's Falconer. And there-  
 ' fore (to speak plainly to your Lordship) it is the  
 ' strangest Thing in the World, that the Lady  
 ' *Margaret* (excuse us if we name her whose Malice  
 ' to the King is both causeless and endless) should  
 ' now when she is old, at the Time when other  
 ' Women give over *Child-bearing*, bring forth two  
 ' such Monsters; being not the Births of nine or ten  
 ' Months, but of many Years. And whereas other  
 ' natural Mothers bring forth Children weak and  
 ' not able to help themselves, she bringeth forth  
 ' tall Striplings, able, soon after their coming into  
 ' the World, to bid Battle to mighty Kings. My  
 ' Lords, We stay unwillingly upon this Part. We  
 ' would to God that Lady wou'd once taste the  
 ' Joys which God Almighty doth serve up unto  
 ' her, in beholding her Niece to reign in such Honour,  
 ' and with so much Royal Issue, which she might  
 ' be pleas'd to account as her own. The King's  
 ' Request unto the Arch-duke, and your Lord-  
 ' ships, might be, That according to the Example  
 ' of King *Charles*, who hath already discarded him,  
 ' you would banish this unworthy Fellow out of  
 ' your Dominions. But because the King might  
 ' justly expect more from an ancient Confederate,  
 ' than from a new reconcil'd Enemy, he maketh  
 ' his Request unto you, to deliver him up into his  
 ' Hands; Pirates and Impostors of this Sort be-

ing

'ing fit to be accounted the *Common Enemies* of  
' *Mankind*, and no ways to be protected by the  
' *Law of Nations*.'

This Oration, so pathetically deliver'd and maintain'd in the Publick Assembly, did not so much vex the Dukes, as it affrighted and dishearten'd poor *Perkin*, who turn'd pale, and trembled for fear his Imposture should be discover'd; but the Dukes took the Cause in hand with an undaunted Courage, and like a true *Virago* rais'd her Spirits to a high Pitch of Revenge, by thus reviving her Darling, and answering the Doctor.

*The Dukes of Burgundy's Answer.*

' *My Lords Ambassadors of England,*

' **F**OR the Dignity of Princeliness command-  
' eth no less, and awful Regard of Majesty  
' combineth me to such Observation. Besides,  
' I am no way offended with your Persons, but  
' your Message, wherein I know the Orator  
' hath much transcended his Bounds; but, speak-  
' ing for his Fee, and doing another Man's Er-  
' rand, he is the more pardonable; and therefore  
' as near as I can remember, I will answer suc-  
' cinctly to every Point deliver'd.

' *First*, Whereas you impeach the miraculous  
' and wonderful Preservation of this Prince, in  
' which yet my Credit and Knowledge of the  
' Truth shall be of Sufficiency to answer all other  
' Objections and Intercedings, I cannot blame  
' you, nor him that set you on work; for he well  
' knows that Sons are to be preferr'd before Daugh-  
' ters; and, asham'd of the Treachery of his An-  
' cestors, he wou'd put off the Blame by a Trick  
' of Policy, in laying as great Faults on the Shoul-  
' ders of his Adversary, I mean my Brother *Rich-*  
' *ard*, whose Tyranny and obdurate Heart hath on-  
' ly

## The HISTORY of

ly wrought this relenting in me, that say and do  
 what *England* can, I will be now the Protectrix  
 of this every way distressed Prince; and so, to  
 conclude this Point, assure your King,

*Permanet in voto mens mea firma suo.*

Secondly, Whereas you infer the Improbability  
 of saving the Prince, being in a Tyrant's Custody,  
 and determining to murder the King himself,  
 I answer, in a word, I am of your Mind, if ever  
 he had come into his Hands: But it is well  
 known, that the Cardinal himself was deceiv'd,  
 and the Child convey'd away, in spite of the  
 malevolent Practices of so cruel a Homicide.  
 Yet say it had not been so, I hope eldest Brother's  
 Daughters are preferr'd before a younger Brother's  
 Claim; and he had five Princesses, besides my  
 Nephew *Warwick*, to wrestle withal, before he  
 cou'd go out of the Lists with his own Triumphs.  
 Therefore it was not the Fear of him that did  
 accelerate his Murder, as you suppose, but his  
 Resolution to be King, in spite of Heaven and  
 Hell.

Thirdly, Concerning the Dispossessing of the  
 Queen, their Mother, by your Parliament, I am  
 ashamed of your Asseveration, That ever Man,  
 and such a Man, whom (as you say) the Heavens  
 protected, should be attainted of Inhumanity,  
 to think a Woman might not be affrighted  
 with a Tyrant, when he himself ran into every  
 Corner from his Reaches. But say there had been  
 a Fault perpetrated (through the Timidity of her  
 Sex, and Tendernefs of her Widowhood,) would  
 any Man marry the Daughter, and hate or distress  
 the poor Mother? In whose behalf I may well say  
 with *Ariadne* to *Theseus*.

————— *Si non ego causa Salutis :  
 Non tamen est, cur tu sis mihi causa Necis.*

Ov. Epist.

And



‘ And, therefore, if there were no more in it than  
 ‘ to revenge her Quarrel, I will be an Enemy to  
 ‘ *Lancaster*, while I live; and am no farther mov’d  
 ‘ with your unseasonable Oratory than afraid of his  
 ‘ Menaces.

‘ *Fourthly*, Whereas you would insinuate with  
 ‘ our Nobles and trusty Friends, to desist from my  
 ‘ Allegiance, and assist my Nephew in his lawful  
 ‘ Claim; you think, belike, we are as perfidious  
 ‘ as yourselves, that seem glad of Treason and Tur-  
 ‘ moils upon the very Sound of Innovation; yea,  
 ‘ the least Advantage or Disadvantage will cause  
 ‘ you to leave your Prince in the midst of his Ene-  
 ‘ mies.

‘ *Fifthly*, Concerning your Exprobration of *Maxi-  
 ‘ milian* for Ingratitude, and not coadjuting your  
 ‘ King in his petty Revenges on *France*: In the  
 ‘ first place, his great Designs are not to be com-  
 ‘ par’d to your trivial Business; and, having Mat-  
 ‘ ters of high Consequence elsewhere, he cou’d not  
 ‘ leave them to attend your weaker Importunities:  
 ‘ In the *second* place, he well knew it was but a  
 ‘ Folly to assist you in any Business of *France*; for  
 ‘ as fast as you got it one way you wou’d lose it  
 ‘ another, so that now you cannot shew any Town  
 ‘ or Fort, either of King *Edward’s* Conquests,  
 ‘ or *Henry the Vth’s* Enterprizes, except *Calais*,  
 ‘ which lying so near you, you cannot for shame  
 ‘ but defend. And, *thirdly*, In my Conscience he  
 ‘ took Pity on you, knowing you had a War at  
 ‘ home to attend, and so were not able to prosecute  
 ‘ both Encounters at once: Go back, therefore,  
 ‘ and tell your politic Prince, that, whereas Words  
 ‘ are but Womens Weapons to his Imagination,  
 ‘ we determine to arm ourselves; and this Prince,  
 ‘ by God’s Assistance and my Power, shall bid  
 ‘ him Defiance in his own Kingdom with Spear

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Ov. Epist.  
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‘ and Shield, and make an equal Combat the Decider of both their Titles.

‘ *Last of all*, Concerning your Investive against Women: Alas! I smile at your Scholarship, and am ashamed at your poor Discretion, in adapting some poetical Invention out of Fury or Spite, to your present Purposes, when both the same Man, and all others of the same Condition, are as forward to commend as dispraise us: For to answer your worn-out thread-bare Tragedian, hark what our divine *Petrarch* affirms,

‘ *Hujus mens terrenarum nescia curarum caelestibus desideriiis ardet; in cujus aspectu si quid unquam verò est divini specimen decoris effulget: cujus mores consummatae honestatis exemplar sunt; cujus nec vox nec oculorum vigor mortale aliquid, nec incessus hominum representat.*

De Contemptu Mundi, Dial. 3.

With these Words the Duchess arose, and carry’d away *Perkin* with such State and Majesty, that Sir *Edward Poynings*, tho’ a Man of invincible Courage, and noted for several wonderful Exploits, was thunderstruck at her heroical Speech and Obstinacy.

The  
Answer  
made to  
the Ambassadors.

After some time to deliberate, the Ambassadors receiv’d this short Answer, ‘ That the Archduke’s Intention was always to preserve a good Understanding with the King of *England*, and therefore he wou’d give no manner of Assistance to the Duke of *York*; but the Duchess of *Burgundy* being absolute Sovereign in the Lands of her Dowry, the Archduke cou’d not meddle with her Affairs, or hinder her from doing what she thought fit.

Rupture  
betwixt  
*Henry* and  
the Arch-  
duke.

*Henry* imagining, by the Ambassadors Answer, that there was a Collusion betwixt the Archduke and the Duchess, and that the former also aided and abetted *Perkin* secretly, broke off all Commerce with him,

him, banish'd all *Flemmings* out of the Kingdom, and appointed *Calais* instead of *Antwerp*, to be the Mart for the *Englisb* Cloth, &c. The Archduke did the like by the *Englisb* who were in *Flanders*; but their Animosity went no farther. Mean time 'twas a great Loss and Detriment to Trade, because the *Easterlings* brought Manufactures into the Land, depriving both the Merchant and Artificer both of their Labour and Custom, whereupon there was a Riot at the *Steel-Yard*, which the Lord Mayor of *London* had much ado to suppress.

Mean while *Henry* having gained Sir *Robert Clifford*, who was intrusted with the Secrets of *Warbeck* and the *Duchess*, had exact Information of their Correspondents in *England*, and instantly caused to be apprehended *John Ratcliff*, Lord *Fitzwalter*, *Robert Ratcliff*, Sir *Simon Montfort*, Sir *Thomas Thwaites*, *William D'Aubeney*, *Thomas Cressener*, and *Thomas Astwood*, who were all convicted and condemn'd of High-Treason, in adhering and promising Aid to *Perkin*. The Lord *Fitzwalter* was sent Prisoner to *Calais*, with some Hopes of obtaining his Pardon; but on his attempting to escape to *Perkin* he was discover'd and beheaded. Sir *Simon Montfort*, *Robert Ratcliff*, and *William D'Aubeney* were executed immediately after their Condemnation, but the rest were pardon'd; and those that were apprehended on the same Account, among whom were certain *Dominican* Friars, and *William Worsley* Dean of *St. Paul's*, were releas'd.

*Perkin Warbeck* still remain'd in *Flanders* without offering to stir; being convinc'd, by the Execution of his Adherents, that the King knew more of his Affairs than he imagin'd. The King having learnt also by Sir *Robert Clifford*, that *Perkin* had still some Dependance in *Ireland*, he resolv'd to take special Care of that Island, the State of which had

*Clifford* betrays *Warbeck's* Secrets.

Some of the Conspirators put to Death.

King *Henry's* Care of *Ireland*.



hitherto been much neglected, and appointed for Deputy (to his second Son, the Lieutenant or Governor, then but two Years old) Sir *Edward Poynings*, a Man vers'd in Affairs, and employ'd in several Embassies, to whom he gave a very extensive Power, as well over the Militia as the Civil Government, that he might put the Island on a good Foot; and he sent over with him Sir *Henry Dean*, a Man of great Wit and Diligence, who was made Chancellor of *Ireland*, and about a thousand Men. When *Poynings* arriv'd there, he made strict Inquiry after those who were suspected of Disaffection to the King; and in particular, he vigorously attack'd *Maurice* Earl of *Desmond*, and *Gerard Fitz-Gerard* Earl of *Kildare*, of whom the former absconded, and the latter was sent Prisoner to *England*, from whence he was quickly sent back by the King with Marks of his Esteem and Good-will. And in order to stifle, if possible, all the Seeds of Rebellion in that Island, where the House of *York* had but too many Friends, he sent *Richard Hatton*, L. L. D. his Commissioner thither, with a General Pardon in Form for all the *Irish* Rebels, not excepting the Earl of *Desmond*.

Sir *William Stanley* impeach'd.

During this the King sent for Sir *Robert Clifford*, privately, from *Flanders*, tho' he pretended to be surpriz'd at his Arrival; and Sir *Robert*, falling on his Knees before the King and Council in the *Tower*, begg'd his Majesty's Pardon, and obtain'd it on a Promise to declare all that he knew of the Conspiracy; whereupon, among several other Persons, he impeach'd Sir *William Stanley*, Lord Chamberlain, of saying to him, (*Clifford*) speaking of *Perkin Warbeck*, That if he were sure that young Man were King *Edward's* Son, he would never bear Arms against him. This was wounding the King in the most sensible Part, since he seem'd thereby to acknowledge, that the House of *York* had a better Title

Title than the House of *Lancaster*: Yet had he been guilty only of this Crime, 'tis a Question whether the Judges would have condemn'd him to die; but 'tis probable he was convicted of acting more directly against the King, and holding Intelligence with *Warbeck* and the Duchess of *Burgundy*: And some Writers say positively, that he did expressly promise to aid *Perkin*, and that he sent him Money. However, all the Favour he could obtain was a Delay for some Weeks to prepare for Death, which he suffer'd by being beheaded on *Tower-bill* Beheaded. the 16th of *February* 1495. The great Service which he had done to the King, and the Interest of the Earl of *Derby* his Brother, who was Father-in-Law to the King, and had also served his Majesty with Zeal, made him hope he should not be treated with so much Rigour; but *Rapin* says, one Thing render'd his Crime unpardonable, and that was his immense Wealth, which, according to Lord *Verulam*, consisted of 40,000 Marks in Money and Plate, which were found in his Castle of *Holt*, besides Jewels, Household-stuff, Stock upon his Grounds, and other Personal Estate exceeding great. And he had likewise in Land 3000 *l.* a Year, of old Rent.

#### CHAP. IV.

*Perkin Warbeck's Attempt on the Coast of Kent, and his Voyage to Ireland and Scotland; with his Speech to King James, and Marriage to one of his Relations, &c.*

PERKIN had not ventur'd hitherto to make any Attempt on *England*, as knowing that the King was inform'd of all his Correspondents. But

the Duchess of *Burgundy*, who still had Hopes of gaining some Advantage by the Idol of her own forming, resolv'd at length to send him into *England*. She judg'd it necessary to sound the People's Affection for the House of *York*, without waiting any longer for the Assistance of the Great Men, who being narrowly watch'd were very cautious. Besides, she imagin'd if the People seem'd ready to rise, there would be no want of Great Men to support and conduct them: Wherefore having order'd some Forces and Ships to be drawn together, she caus'd *Perkin Warbeck* to embark, and make a Descent in the County of *Kent*.

*Perkin's*  
Arrival  
and Mis-  
carriage on  
the *Kentish*  
Coast.

*Perkin*, pursuant to the Duchess of *Burgundy's* Directions, arriv'd the Third of *July* 1695, on the *Kentish* Coast, near *Sandwich*, and landed some Men, who made great Boasts of the Armament which the Duke of *York* had made in *Flanders*, pretending that the Ships in Sight were but a small part of the Fleet which would soon appear. But the People perceiving these Men were almost all Foreigners, who were generally Bankrupts, Felons, and Freebooters, fitter to ravage the Coast than to recover a Kingdom, instead of joining them, advis'd with the Gentlemen of the County to know how they should behave; and it was resolv'd they should pretend to be ready to assist *Perkin*, in order to allure him ashore, and to take him Prisoner. The People accordingly took Arms and appear'd on the Coast, making Signs to invite *Perkin* and his Men to land: But *Perkin* and his Counsellor *Frion* suspecting the Artifice, kept on board, expecting the Return of some of their People to inform them of what had pass'd on Shore. At last the *Kentish* Men finding they could draw no more to Land, fell upon those who were already landed, and cut them in pieces, except about 150, who being taken Prisoners,



soners, were all sent up to *London* harnessed in Ropes like Horses drawing in a Cart, and by the King's Order hang'd, some at *London* and *Wapping*, and the rest upon the Sea-Coasts of *Kent*, *Sussex* and *Norfolk*, for Sea-Marks to warn the *Perkinites* to avoid the Coast. *Perkin* being Eye-witness of his People's Misfortune weigh'd Anchor, and return'd to *Flanders*.

Not long after this, the King receiv'd advice, that *Warbeck* *Perkin Warbeck* was landed in *Ireland*, to which the <sup>goes to Ire-</sup> <sup>land, and</sup> <sup>afterwards</sup> <sup>to Scot-</sup> <sup>land.</sup> *Duchess of Burgundy* had sent him to raise a Rebellion; and that for this end she had privately treated with the King of *Scotland*, who very likely had promis'd to support him. It was commonly believ'd that the Emperor, the Arch-duke *Philip*, and the *French* King were also in the Plot: But *Perkin* not finding the Country inclin'd to favour his Designs, departed from *Cork*, and landed in the West of *Scotland*, where probably he knew that he should be much more welcome. When he came to *Edinburgh*, he demanded Audience of the King, by the Name of the Duke of *York*. King *James* pretended to be extremely surpriz'd, and gave him a solemn Reception in presence of the whole Court, to which he came attended in great State by those whom the King had sent to meet him, as well as by his own Train, which was not meanly equipp'd. When he enter'd the King's Presence-Chamber, and approach'd his Majesty, with a Bow to embrace him, he retir'd a few Paces back; and, with a Voice audible to the whole Court, made the following Harangue to him, as we find it related by Lord *Verulam*.

## Perkin's Speech to the King of Scotland.

‘ *Highb and Mighty King,*

‘ **Y**OUR Grace, and these your Nobles here  
 ‘ present, may be pleas’d benignly to bow your  
 ‘ Ears to hear the *Tragedy* of a young Man that  
 ‘ by Right ought to hold in his Hand the *Ball* of  
 ‘ a Kingdom, but by Fortune is made himself a  
 ‘ *Ball*, toss’d from Misery to Misery, and from  
 ‘ Place to Place. You see here before you the  
 ‘ Spectacle of a *Plantagenet*, who hath been carried  
 ‘ from the *Nursery* to the *Sanctuary*, from the  
 ‘ *Sanctuary* to the direful *Prison*; from the *Prison*  
 ‘ to the Hand of the cruel *Tormentor*, and from that  
 ‘ Hand to the wilde *Wilderness*, (as I may truly call  
 ‘ it) for so the World hath been to me: So that  
 ‘ He who is born to a Great Kingdom hath  
 ‘ not Ground to set his Foot upon, more than  
 ‘ this where he now standeth by your Princely Fa-  
 ‘ vour. *Edward* the Fourth, late King of *England*,  
 ‘ (as your Grace cannot but have heard) left two  
 ‘ Sons, *Edward* and *Richard* Duke of *York*, both  
 ‘ very young. *Edward*, the Eldest, succeeded their  
 ‘ Father in the Crown, by the Name of King *Ed-*  
 ‘ *ward* the Fifth; but *Richard* Duke of *Gloucester*  
 ‘ their unnatural Uncle, first thirsting after the *King-*  
 ‘ *dom*, through Ambition, and afterwards thirsting  
 ‘ for their *Blood*, out of Desire to secure himself,  
 ‘ employ’d an Instrument of his (confident to him  
 ‘ as he thought) to murder them both. But this  
 ‘ Man that was employ’d to execute that execrable  
 ‘ Tragedy having slain King *Edward* the Eldest  
 ‘ of the Two, was mov’d, partly by Remorse, and  
 ‘ partly by some other Meane, to save *Richard* his  
 ‘ Brother; making a Report nevertheless to the  
 ‘ *Tyrant*, that he had perform’d his *Commandment*  
 ‘ for

' for both Brethren. This Report was accordingly  
 ' believ'd, and publish'd generally; so that the  
 ' World hath been possess'd of an Opinion that  
 ' they both were barbarously made away, though  
 ' *Truth* ever hath some Sparks that fly abroad,  
 ' until it appear in due Time, as this hath had. But  
 ' *Almighty God* that stopped the Mouth of the *Lion*,  
 ' and saved little *Joash* from the Tyranny of *Atha-*  
 ' *liab*, when she massacred the King's Children, and  
 ' did save *Isaac*, when the Hand was stretched forth  
 ' to sacrifice him, preserv'd the Second Brother.  
 ' For I myself, that stand here in your Presence, am  
 ' that very *Richard* Duke of *York*, Brother of that  
 ' unfortunate *Prince* King *Edward* the Fifth, now  
 ' the most rightful surviving Heir Male to that  
 ' victorious and most noble *Edward*, of that Name  
 ' the Fourth, late King of *England*. For the man-  
 ' ner of my Escape, it is fit it should pass in Silence,  
 ' or (at least) in a more secret *Relation*; for that  
 ' it may concern some alive, and the Memory of  
 ' some that are dead. Let it suffice to think that  
 ' I had then a *Mother* living, a *Queen*, and one  
 ' that expected daily such a Commandment from  
 ' the *Tyrant* for the murdering of her *Children*.  
 ' Thus in my tender Age escaping, by God's Mer-  
 ' cy, out of *London*, I was convey'd over Sea,  
 ' where, after a time, the Party that had me in  
 ' Charge (upon what new *Fears*, Change of *Mind*,  
 ' or *Practice*, God knoweth) suddenly forsook me,  
 ' whereby I was forced to wander abroad, and to  
 ' seek mean *Conditions* for the sustaining of my Life.  
 ' Wherefore distracted between several Passions, the  
 ' one of *Fear* to be known, lest the *Tyrant* should  
 ' have a new Attempt upon me, the other of *Grief*  
 ' and *Disdain*, to be unknown, and to live in that  
 ' base and servile manner I did, I resolv'd with  
 ' myself to expect the *Tyrant's* Death, and then to  
 ' put



## The HISTORY of

' put myself into my *Sister's* Hands, who was next  
 ' Heir to the *Crown*. But in this Season it hap-  
 ' pen'd one *Henry Tidder*, Son to *Edmund Tidder*  
 ' Earl of *Richmond*, to come from *France* and  
 ' enter into the *Realm*, and by subtle and foul  
 ' Means to obtain the *Crown* of the same, which  
 ' to me rightfully appertained; so that it was but a  
 ' Change from *Tyrant* to *Tyrant*. This *Henry*, my  
 ' extreme and mortal *Enemy*, so soon as he had  
 ' knowledge of my being alive, imagined and  
 ' wrought all the subtle Ways and Means he could  
 ' to procure my final Destruction: For my mortal  
 ' Enemy hath not only falsly surmised me to be a  
 ' feigned Person, giving me *Nicknames*, so abusing  
 ' the World; but also to defer and put me from  
 ' Entry into *England*, hath offer'd large Sums of  
 ' Money to corrupt the *Princes* and their *Ministers*  
 ' with whom I have been retained, and made im-  
 ' portune *Labours* to certain *Servants* about my  
 ' Person to murder or poison me, and others to  
 ' forsake and leave my righteous Quarrel, and to  
 ' depart from my *Service*, as Sir *Robert Clifford*  
 ' and others: So that every Man of *Reason* may  
 ' well perceive that *Henry*, calling himself *King* of  
 ' *England*, needed not to have bestow'd such great  
 ' Sums of *Treasure*, nor so to have busied himself  
 ' with importune and incessant *Labour* and *Industry*  
 ' to compass my *Death* and *Ruin* if I had been such a  
 ' feigned Person. But the Truth of my Cause being  
 ' so manifest, moved the most Christian King *Charles*,  
 ' and the Lady *Duchess Dowager* of *Burgundy*, my  
 ' most dear Aunt, not only to acknowledge the  
 ' Truth thereof, but lovingly to assist me. But it  
 ' seemeth that *God* above (for the Good of this  
 ' whole *Island*, and the knitting of these two  
 ' Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* in a strait  
 ' Concord and Amity by so great an Obligation)  
 ' hath

‘ hath reserved the placing of me in the *Imperial*  
 ‘ *Throne of England*, for the *Arms and Succours* of  
 ‘ your *Grace* : Neither is it the first Time that a  
 ‘ King of *Scotland* hath supported them that were  
 ‘ bereft and spoiled of the *Kingdom of England*, as  
 ‘ of late (in fresh Memory) it was done in the Per-  
 ‘ son of *Henry* the Sixth. Wherefore for that your  
 ‘ *Grace* hath given clear Signs that you are in no  
 ‘ Noble Quality inferior to your *Royal Ancestors*,  
 ‘ I, so distressed a Prince, was hereby moved to  
 ‘ come and put myself into your *Royal Hands*, de-  
 ‘ siring your Assistance to recover my *Kingdom* of  
 ‘ *England* ; promising faithfully to bear myself to-  
 ‘ wards your *Grace* no otherwise than if I were your  
 ‘ own Natural *Brother*, and will, upon the Reco-  
 ‘ very of mine *Inheritance*, gratefully do you all  
 ‘ the *Pleasure* that is in my utmost *Power*.

King *James* seem’d to be mov’d with *Perkin’s* The Scots  
 Misfortunes, and told him, *Whoever he was, he* King’s An-  
 should not repent of putting himself into his Hands. swer to  
 Whether he believ’d him to be the real *Duke of York*, him.  
 or whether he made some Doubt of it, as he pre-  
 tended to do, in order as ’tis thought to make be-  
 lieve that he had maturely examin’d all Circum-  
 stances, and that what he did was from his being  
 fully convinc’d of his being no Counterfeit ; what-  
 ever, I say, was the King’s private Opinion, he  
 shortly after own’d him, and proclaim’d him for  
*Richard Duke of York*, shew’d him all the Favours  
 the Court and City could afford, and gave him a  
 Kinswoman of his in Marriage, viz. the Lady Ca- Perkin’s  
*tharine Gordon*, Daughter to the Earl of *Huntley*, Marriage.  
 one of the handsomest and most accomplish’d Ladies  
 in *Scotland*. Not content with this, the King of Scots  
 in Person, with *Perkin* in his Company, invaded  
*England*, where he was told, that as soon as he ap- His In-  
 pear’d vasion of  
 England,

pear'd at the Head of an Army, all the Adherents of the *Yörk* Family would rise in Favour of the Pretender. As soon as they enter'd *Northumberland*, *Perkin* caus'd the following Proclamation to be publish'd, as Lord *Verulam* has printed it from the Original in Sir *Robert Cotton's* Library.

*Perkin's Proclamation in the Name of Richard Duke of York, true Heir of the Crown of England.*

‘ **I** T hath pleased God, who putteth down the  
 ‘ *Mighty* from their Seat, and exalteth the *Hum-*  
 ‘ *ble*, and suffereth not the Hopes of the *Just* to  
 ‘ perish in the End, to give us Means at the length  
 ‘ to shew ourselves armed unto our Lieges and  
 ‘ People of *England*. But far be it from us to in-  
 ‘ tend their Hurt or Damage, or to make War  
 ‘ upon them, otherwise than to deliver *Ourselves* and  
 ‘ Them from *Tyranny* and *Oppression*. For our Mor-  
 ‘ tal Enemy *Henry Tidder*, a false Usurper of the  
 ‘ Crown of *England*, (which to us by Lineal and  
 ‘ Natural Right appertaineth) knowing in his own  
 ‘ Heart our undoubted Right, (We being the very  
 ‘ *RICHARD* Duke of *York*, younger Son, and  
 ‘ now surviving *Heir-Male* of the Noble and Victo-  
 ‘ rious *Edward* the Fourth late King of *England*)  
 ‘ hath not only deprived us of our Kingdom, but  
 ‘ likewise, by all foul and wicked Means, sought to  
 ‘ betray us, and bereave us of our *Life*: Yet if his  
 ‘ *Tyranny* only extended itself to our *Person* (altho’  
 ‘ our *Royal Blood* teacheth us to be sensible of *Inju-*  
 ‘ *ries*) it should be less to our Grief. But this *Tid-*  
 ‘ *der*, who boasteth himself to have overthrown a  
 ‘ *Tyrant*, hath ever since his first Entrance into his  
 ‘ *usurped Reign*, put little in practice but *Tyranny*  
 ‘ and the Feats thereof.

‘ For King *Richard* our unnatural Uncle, altho’  
 ‘ Desire of *Rule* did blind him, yet in his other  
 ‘ Actions



' Actions (like a true PLANTAGENET) was  
 ' Noble, and loved the Honour of the *Realm*, and  
 ' the Contentment and Comfort of his Nobles and  
 ' People. But this our *mortal Enemy* (agreeable  
 ' to the Meanness of his *Birth*) hath trodden under  
 ' Foot the *Honour* of this *Nation*, selling our best  
 ' *Confederates* for Money, and making Merchandise  
 ' of the *Blood*, *Estates* and *Fortunes* of our *Peers*  
 ' and *Subjects*, by feigned *Wars*, and dishonourable  
 ' *Peace*, only to enrich his Coffers. Nor unlike  
 ' hath been his hateful Misgovernment and evil  
 ' Deportments at home. First, He hath (to fortify  
 ' his false Quarrel) caused divers Nobles of this our  
 ' *Realm* (whom he held suspect and stood in dread  
 ' of) to be cruelly murder'd; as our Cousin Sir  
 ' WILLIAM STANLEY Lord Chamberlain, Sir  
 ' SIMON MONTFORT, Sir ROBERT RATCLIFFE,  
 ' WILLIAM D'AUBENEY, HUMPHRY STAF-  
 ' FORD, and many others, besides such as have  
 ' dearly bought their Lives with intolerable Ran-  
 ' soms; some of which Nobles are now in the San-  
 ' ctuary. Also he hath long kept, and yet keepeth  
 ' in Prison our right intirely well-beloved Cousin  
 ' EDWARD, Son and Heir to our Uncle Duke  
 ' of Clarence, and others; withholding from them  
 ' their rightful *Inheritance*, to the Intent that they  
 ' shou'd never be of Might and Power, to aid and  
 ' assist us at our Need, after the Duty of their  
 ' *Liegeances*. He also married by Compulsion cer-  
 ' tain of our *Sisters*, and also the Sister of our said  
 ' Cousin the *Earl of Warwick*, and divers other  
 ' Ladies of the *Royal Blood*, unto certain of his  
 ' *Kinsmen* and Friends of simple and low Degree;  
 ' and putting apart all well-disposed Nobles, he  
 ' hath none in Favour and Trust about his Person,  
 ' but Bishop FOX, SMITH, BRAY, LOVEL,  
 ' OLIVER KING, DAVID OWEN, RISELEY,  
 ' TUR-

‘ TURBERVILLE, TILER, CHOLMLEY, EMP-  
 ‘ SON, JAMES HOBART, JOHN CUT, GARTH,  
 ‘ HENRY WYAT, and such other Caitiffes and  
 ‘ Villaines of Birth, which by subtle Inventions and  
 ‘ Pilling of the People, have been the principal  
 ‘ Finders, Occasioners and Counsellors of the Misrule  
 ‘ and Mischief now reigning in *England*.

‘ We remembring these Premisses, with the  
 ‘ great and execrable Offences daily committed and  
 ‘ done by our foresaid great *Enemie*, and his *Abbe-*  
 ‘ rents, in breaking the *Liberties* and *Franchises* of  
 ‘ our *Mother* the *Holy Church*, upon Pretences of  
 ‘ wicked and heathenish *Policy*, to the high Dis-  
 ‘ pleasure of Almighty God, besides the manifold  
 ‘ Treasons, abominable Murders, Manslaughters,  
 ‘ Robberies, Extortions, the daily Pilling of the  
 ‘ People by *Dismes*, *Taxes*, *Talliages*, *Benevolences*,  
 ‘ and other unlawful *Impositions*, and grievous Ex-  
 ‘ actions, with many other heinous *Effects*, to the  
 ‘ likely Destruction and Desolation of the whole  
 ‘ Realm, shall by God’s Grace, and the Help and  
 ‘ Assistance of the great *Lords* of our *Blood*, with the  
 ‘ Counsel of other *Persons*, see that the Commo-  
 ‘ dities of our *Realm* be employed to the most Ad-  
 ‘ vantage of the same, the Intercourse of *Merchan-*  
 ‘ dise betwixt *Realm* and *Realm*, to be ministred  
 ‘ and handled, as shall more be to the *Common-*  
 ‘ weale, and Prosperity of our *Subjects*; and all such  
 ‘ *Dismes*, *Taxes*, *Talliages*, *Benevolences*, unlawful  
 ‘ *Impositions*, and grievous *Exactions*, as be above  
 ‘ rehearsed, to be fore-done and laid apart, and  
 ‘ never from henceforth to be called upon, but in  
 ‘ such Cases as our *Noble Progenitors*, Kings of  
 ‘ *England*, have of old time been accustomed to  
 ‘ have the Aid, Succour, and Help of their Sub-  
 ‘ jects and true Liege-men.

‘ And

‘ And further, We do, out of our *Grace* and  
 ‘ *Clemency*, hereby as well publish and promise to  
 ‘ all our *Subjects* Remission and Free Pardon of all  
 ‘ By-past *Offences* whatsoever against our *Person*,  
 ‘ or *Estate*, in adhering to our said *Enemy*, by  
 ‘ whom (we know well) they have been misled, if  
 ‘ they shall within time conveniently submit them-  
 ‘ selves unto us. And for such as shall come with  
 ‘ the foremost, to assist our righteous *Quarrel*, we  
 ‘ shall make them so far Partakers of our Princely  
 ‘ *Favour* and *Bounty*, as shall be highly for the  
 ‘ Comfort of Them and Theirs, both during their  
 ‘ Life, and after their Death. As also we shall,  
 ‘ by all Means which GOD shall put into our  
 ‘ Hands, demean ourselves to give Royal Con-  
 ‘ tentment to all *Degrees* and *Estates* of our People,  
 ‘ maintaining the *Liberties* of *Holy Church* in their  
 ‘ *Entire*, preserving the *Honours*, *Privileges* and  
 ‘ *Prebeminences* of our *Nobles* from *Contempt* or  
 ‘ *Disparagement*, according to the *Dignity* of their  
 ‘ *Blood*. We shall also unyoke our People from  
 ‘ all heavy *Burthens* and *Endurances*, and confirm  
 ‘ our *Cities*, *Boroughs* and *Towns* in their *Char-*  
 ‘ *ters* and *Freedoms*, with *Inlargement* where it  
 ‘ shall be deserved; and in all Points give our Sub-  
 ‘ jects cause to think, that the blessed and debon-  
 ‘ naire *Government* of our Noble *Father* King  
 ‘ EDWARD (in his last Times) is in us revived.

‘ And forasmuch as the putting to Death, or  
 ‘ taking alive of our said *mortal Enemy* may be  
 ‘ a Means to stay much Effusion of *Blood*, which  
 ‘ otherwise may ensue, if by *Compulsion*, or fair  
 ‘ *Promises*, he shall draw after him any Number  
 ‘ of our *Subjects* to resist us, which we desire to  
 ‘ avoid (though we be certainly inform’d that our  
 ‘ said *Enemy* is purposed and prepared to fly the  
 ‘ *Land*, having already made over great Masses of  
 ‘ the

‘ And



Perkin's Offer of a Reward for apprehending K. Henry.

' the *Treasure* of our *Crown*, the better to support  
 ' him in *Foreign Parts*) we do hereby declare,  
 ' That whosoever shall take or distress our said  
 ' *Enemy*, (though the *Party* be of never so mean a  
 ' *Condition*) he shall be by us rewarded with a  
 ' Thousand Pound in Money, forthwith to be laid  
 ' down to him, and an hundred Marks by the  
 ' Year, of *Inheritance*, besides that he may other-  
 ' wise merit, both towards GOD and all good  
 ' People, for the Destruction of such a *Tyrant*.  
 ' Lastly, we do all Men to wit, and herein we  
 ' also take GOD to witness, That whereas GOD  
 ' hath moved the Heart of our Dearest *Cousin* the  
 ' King of *Scotland*, to aid us in Person in this our  
 ' righteous *Quarrel*; it is altogether without any  
 ' Pact or Promise, or so much as Demand of any  
 ' Thing that may prejudice our *Crown*, or *Subjects*:  
 ' But contrariwise, with Promise on our said *Cou-*  
 ' *sin's* Part, that whensoever he shall find us in  
 ' sufficient Strength to get the upper-hand of our  
 ' *Enemy* (which we hope will be very suddenly)  
 ' he will forthwith peaceably return into his own *King-*  
 ' *dom*, contenting himself only with the Glory of so  
 ' Honourable an *Enterprise*, and our true and faith-  
 ' ful Love and Amity; which we shall ever (by  
 ' the Grace of *Almighty* GOD) so order, as shall  
 ' be to the great Comfort of both *Kingdoms*.

But for all this Proclamation, not a Man stirr'd  
 to join the *Scots*; for though King *Henry* was not  
 exceedingly well belov'd, especially in those Parts,  
 yet as some were in doubt, and others were po-  
 sitive that *Perkin* was not the real Son of King *Ed-*  
*ward* the Fourth, they did not think it proper to  
 hazard Life and Fortune for his Title. *James*  
 seeing that he was not like to be join'd by the  
*English* in Favour of his Duke of *York*, and being  
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unwilling wholly to lose his Labour, ravag'd *Northumberland* and got a great Booty, at which *Perkin*, feigning to be extremely mov'd with the Calamities of the *English*, conjur'd that Prince, before his whole Court, to spare his miserable Subjects; though this was only an artful Device to persuade the Publick that he was really what he pretended to be. *James* reply'd with a Smile, that he thought him very generous to be so careful for what was not his own, in order to save it for his Enemy's Use. Mean while the News that the *English* Army was advancing made him return into his own Country. Nevertheless, he made a second Irruption into *England* not long after, upon the News of a Rebellion in *Cornwal*, and appear'd before the Castle of *Norham*, but it was so well fortify'd, provided and defended by *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Durham*, that on the Earl of *Surry*'s Approach with many of the Nobility and Gentry from *Yorkshire*, and an Army of near 20,000 Men, he rais'd the Siege and retir'd again into his own Kingdom; but he was vigorously pursued thither by the Earl, who defac'd the Castle of *Cundrestains*, demolish'd the Tower of *Hedenball*, undermin'd that of *Edington*, overthrew the Pile of *Fulden*, and took *Aiton* Castle between *Berwick* and *Edinburgh*, when the King of *Scots*, who was but a Mile from it, durst not advance to relieve it.

The  
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The *Spanish* Ambassador, then at King *Henry*'s Court, having at his Request taken a Trip to *Scotland*, and sifted King *James*'s Inclination as to Peace, because King *Henry* perceiv'd it would be easier to remove *Perkin* from *Scotland* by Treaty than by Arms, a Negotiation was commenc'd accordingly at *Aiton* just now mention'd, where the *English* Ambassadors were *William Warham*, Master of the Rolls, and *John Carrington*; the *Spanish* Ambassador

A Peace  
negotiated  
for *Henry*  
with *Scotland*.

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*Perkin.*

Expedient  
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King  
*James's*  
Advice to  
*Perkin* on  
his leaving  
*Scotland.*

bassador performing the Office of Mediator. The greatest Difficulty that occur'd in the Negotiation was concerning *Perkin Warbeck*, whom King *Henry* demanded, and the King of *Scotland* would not deliver; saying, 'That without regard to his Title, 'of which he own'd himself no competent Judge, 'he had receiv'd him as a Suppliant, protected him 'as a Person fled for Refuge, espoused him with his 'Kinswoman, and assisted him with his Arms, upon 'the Belief that he was a Prince, and that therefore 'he could not be so base as to give him up now to 'his Enemies.' But both Parties soon agreed to this Expedient, viz. That the King of *Scotland* should honourably dismiss the pretended Duke of *York* before the Negotiation was far advanc'd, lest he should be thought to be forc'd to it; and that afterwards they should treat as if *Perkin* had never been in *Scotland*. In pursuance of this Agreement, *James* told the pretended Duke, that he had done for him all that lay in his Power; that he had, in the Space of two Years, not only disgusted his Nobility by espousing his Quarrel, but provok'd King *Henry* to a great Degree, by having twice enter'd *England* at the Head of an Army to try how the *English* were dispos'd: That not having found them so well inclin'd as he expected, it was not probable that with his Forces alone he could place him on the Throne, and dispossess the King who was so firmly establish'd: That his Misfortune proceeded solely from the *English* refusing to espouse his Quarrel, and his being forsaken by those People who had engag'd him in the Undertaking, whilst the *Scots* expos'd their Lives for his Sake. He therefore advis'd him to seek his Fortune elsewhere; but he added nevertheless, that he would make good what he told him at first, *That he should not repent of putting himself into his Hands.* *Perkin* seeing the King of

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## PERKIN WARBECK.

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of *Scotland* bent to dismiss him, thank'd him for the Protection he had hitherto given him, and for all his other Favours, intreating him to let him have Shipping to convey him with his Wife into *Ireland*. The King granted his Request, and to *Ireland* he returned as he came, but with the Addition of many Gifts and Royal Furniture for his Wife and Family. The Lord *Verulam* observes, that upon this Occasion *Perkin* kept up his *Theatrical* Majesty, and that he said in his Answer to the King's Advice, *That he saw his Time was not yet come, but whatever his Fortunes were, he should always think and speak honourably of his Scottish Majesty.*

## CHAP. V.

*Perkin's Arrival from Ireland in Cornwall, to head the Rebels there by their Invitation, with his Defeat after he had assum'd the Royal Title: And his Surrender to the King in Bewley-Abbey, to which he had fled for Sanctuary.*

THERE being a fresh Insurrection of Rebels in *Cornwal* in 1498, though their Countrymen, who had advanc'd as far as *Blackbeath*, receiv'd a total Defeat there, and made their Submission but two or three Years before, they sent a Deputation to *Ireland* to acquaint *Perkin Warbeck*, that if he would come and head them, he should find no contemptible Aid; and that with the Assistance of other good *Englishmen*, they hop'd to place him on the Throne. *Perkin*, being then without any Refuge in *Ireland*, or Hopes of any further

## The HISTORY of

Succour from *Scotland, France* or the *Low-Countries*, and having so long learnt to live like a Prince that he could not bear the Thoughts of returning to his Primitive State of mean Obscurity, gladly accepted the Invitation, especially as he was advis'd

*Perkin's* to it by his Trusty and Well-beloved Cousins and Privy-Counsellors, who were *John Hern* a broken Mercer, *Richard Skelton* a Taylor, *John of Water*, who had been Mayor of *Cork*, and *John Astley* a Scrivener, and their Advice to all Men of desperate Fortunes, and the most abandon'd Characters. These told him, that he had committed a great Error in relying on the Dukes of *Burgundy*, and on the Kings of *France* and *Scotland*; who, without regard to his Interests, had only their own in View: That he had been ill advis'd to land so near *London* as *Kent* was; that if he had been so fortunate as to have been in *Cornwal* when the *Cornishmen* first took Arms, he had been crown'd at *Westminster* before now; that the *English* had such an Aversion to the *Scots*, whose Kings (said they) would sell poor Princes (as he had now experienc'd) for Shoes; that the latter were not proper Instruments to place him on the Throne, and that he must wholly depend on the *English*, who alone were capable of procuring him the Crown. And finally, they advis'd him by all means to repair to *Cornwal*, where he was impatiently expected.

His Departure for *Cornwal*. *Perkin* embark'd accordingly for *Cornwal*, having with him, as Lord *Verulam* says, 120 or 140 fighting Men on board four small Vessels, or, as others say, five Vessels and 200 Men, his Wife and Attendants, and all the Substance he had in the World. Arriving on the 7th of *September*, according to *Stow*, at *Whitsand-Bay*, and landing his Company, he went immediately to *Bodmin*, where liv'd *Michael Joseph* the Farrier, one of the Rebels that was hang'd after the above-mention'd Battle of

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*Blackbeath.* There he assembled about 3000 Men, and issued out a Proclamation, assuming the Title of KING of *England*, and the Name of RICHARD the IVth, as he had done before in the North Parts of *England*, by the Counsel and Countenance of the King of *Scots*. He was very free, in this Proclamation, of his Reproaches and Invectives against King *Henry*, and his Government, and made very large Promises to such as should take Arms to dethrone the Usurper; whom he also branded as an execrable Breaker of the Rites of Holy Church, because, as Lord *Verulam* observes, the King had lately pared off a little of the Privilege of Clergy by an order, That *Clerks convicted of Homicide shou'd be burnt in the Hand*. After he had publish'd this Proclamation, he advanc'd to seize *Exeter*. He try'd at first to terrify the Inhabitants with continual Shouts and Outcries, and then to win them, with a Promise not only to preserve, but to augment their Privileges, and to make their City a second *London*; and finding they were deaf to his Offer he resolv'd to storm it. He had no Artillery nor Tools to cast up Trenches, and as his Men knew nothing of the Art of War, he was forc'd to scale the Walls, and attempted to fire one of the Gates, after having assaulted it with great Pieces of Timber like the old Battering-Rams, Iron Crows, Fire-brands, great Stones, &c. but the Citizens being all united repell'd Fire with Fire, and drove the Rebels from their Walls, after they had lost 200 Men in the Assault.

He takes the Title of King *Richard IV.*

His fruitless Attempt on *Exeter*.

When the King heard that *Perkin* was with the *Cornish* Rebels before *Exeter*, he said merrily, that *he hoped now to have the Honour of seeing the King of Rake-bells, which he never yet could obtain*: And having intimated at the same time, with what Pleasure and Gratitude he shou'd receive the Services

King *Henry's* Wish to see him,



The Appearance of the Nobility in the West for the King.

which the Nobility shou'd do him on that Occasion, several Lords and Gentlemen of *Devonshire* and the neighbouring Parts, in particular *Edward Courtney* the Earl of *Devonshire*, and his Son Sir *William Courtney*, *Walter Courtney*, Sir *Edward Carew*, Sir *Thomas Fulford*, *Henry Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*, Sir *Thomas Trenchard*, Sir *John Halewel*, Sir *John Croker*, *Peter Edgecomb*, *Walter St. Maur*, or *Seymour*, &c. voluntarily drew some Forces together, and put themselves under Arms. On the other hand, the King order'd the Lord *D'Aubeney* to march to the Relief of *Exeter*, and that it shou'd be given out he was following in Person with a numerous Army.

Upon this News *Perkin* rais'd the Siege of *Exeter* the 20th of *September*, and retir'd with his poor distress'd Army to *Taunton*, where, after preparing all things as if he intended to fight, he muster'd his Forces, but found such a Defection since his Disaster at *Exeter*, that with sixty Horse he fled that Night to the Monastery of *Bewley* in the *New Forest* in *Hampshire*, where he and several of his Companions registered their Claim of Protection. The Lord *D'Aubeney*, hearing that *Perkin* had forsaken his Army, detach'd five hundred Horse to pursue him, and prevent his Escape by Sea. The Pursuers arriving too late at *Bewley*, contented themselves with besetting the Sanctuary till further Orders.

His Army submitted.

Mean while *Perkin's* Troops, who were increas'd to above 6000 when they were before *Exeter*, being destitute of their Head, submitted to the King's Mercy, who pardon'd them all, except a few of the Ringleaders who were hang'd. *Perkin's* Wife being retir'd to *St. Michael's Mount*, a Detachment of Horse was sent thither by the King's Order to bring her away, lest, if she shou'd be with Child and make her Escape, there might be a future *Perkin*

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kin or Pretender from the same Stem. She had actually disguis'd herself in one of her Servant's Habits in order to go off in a Vessel, but was betray'd by some of her own Followers. This virtuous Lady, now a Prisoner, who intirely lov'd her Husband, tho' she was too good for him, so won the King's Favour by her Modesty, that he receiv'd her very graciously, and comforting her himself, *very affectionately*, as it was said; (such a Power has Beauty always when in Distress) he had her conducted to the Queen, as majestically as if she had been a *real* Queen, and settled an honourable Allowance on her, which she enjoy'd during the King's Life, and many Years after. She was call'd the *White Rose*, as well on account of her Beauty, as because of the Name given by the Duchess of *Burgundy* to her Husband.

The King's Esteem for *Parkin's* Wife.

King *Henry* no sooner arriv'd in these Parts, but he paid his Compliments to *Edward* Duke of *Buckingham*, a gallant young Nobleman, with whom came a hundred Knights and Esquires of Distinction, particularly *Sir Alexander Bainham*, *Sir Maurice Berkley*, *Sir Robert Fame*, *Sir John Guise*, *Sir Robert Points*, *Sir Henry Vernon*, *Sir John Mortimer*, *Sir Thomas Tremaile*, *Sir Edward Sutton*, *Sir Amias Pawlet*, *Sir John Bickwell*, *Sir John Sapcotes*, *Sir Hugh Lutterel*, and *Sir Francis Cheney*.

His Compliments to his noble Friends.

The King coming to *Exeter*, to inquire more closely into the Origin and Cause of the Rebellion, he made Presents to some of the Loyal and Valiant Citizens, advanc'd others to Knighthood, and taking his Sword from his Side, as he enter'd the City, gave it to the Mayor to be always carry'd before him. Next Day he caused some of the Rebels to be hang'd, as a Sacrifice to the Citizens whom they had terrify'd; and as for the rest who had submitted, he gave them their Lives indeed, but severely

Punishment of the Rebels.

Debates  
about *Per-*  
*kin*,

punish'd them with heavy Fines. At the same time he advis'd with Council what shou'd be done with *Perkin*, who was still invested in his Sanctuary. Some were for taking him out by Force, and putting him instantly to Death; not at all questioning that, after the Execution, the King might easily satisfy the Pope, whose Fulminations at that time were dreaded by all the Princes of *Europe*. Others, on the contrary, believ'd, that, according to the License granted by the Pope's Bull, it was sufficient to have him narrowly watch'd, and that such a Handle shou'd not be given to the Pope without a Necessity, because the King's Enemies wou'd not fail to take the Advantage of his Violation of Sanctuaries. In short, some plainly told the King, that the People wou'd never be satisfy'd that *Perkin Warbeck* was an Impostor, unless *Warbeck* himself freely undeceiv'd those who had been seduc'd by his Artifices; that, therefore, the best way wou'd be to engage him, by a Pardon, to make a Confession of his Crime. The King approving of this Advice, sent to offer *Perkin* his Life if he would voluntarily surrender himself. *Perkin*, seeing he was so strictly watch'd, that it was impossible for him to escape, and having no Hopes of any future Success in case he cou'd escape, after a fruitless Trial of so many various Means, readily accepted the Offer.

And his  
Surrender.



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## C H A P. VI.

*Perkin's Commitment to the Tower of London.*

*His Escape from thence to another Sanctuary, from whence he is taken out, set in the Stocks and Pillory, and committed again to the Tower, where he plotted to kill the Lieutenant.*

PERKIN, who, as *Polydore Virgil* expresses it, was now *sine spe, sine sede, sine fortuna*, i. e. without Hope, House, or Substance, and had therefore surrender'd himself into the King's Hands, was brought to Court, but not to the Royal Presence; yet his Majesty, to satisfy his Curiosity, peep'd at him sometimes out of a Window, without being seen himself. Tho' he was in Appearance at Liberty, he was attended by such as were commanded to watch him strictly, and order'd to follow the King to *London*. As he pass'd thither, he was expos'd to the Derision not only of the Courtiers, but of the common People, who flock'd about him as if he had been a Monster, or as an Owl is follow'd by a Flight of Birds. Some mock'd, murmur'd at him, and curs'd him, and others star'd at him from Head to Foot, prying, and picking Matter out of his Countenance and Gesture to flout him; so that the false Honour and Respects, which he had so long enjoy'd, were plentifully repaid in Scorn and Contempt; but we are told by *Mr. Rapin*, that he never acted the Prince better than upon this Occasion, without affecting too much Insensibility, or too great a Dejection.

As soon as *Perkin* was come to *London*, the King gave the Citizens the Satisfaction of viewing this Pageant, for which Cause he was convey'd *leisurely* there.

on

on Horseback, thro' *Cheapside* and *Cornhill*, to the *Tower*, and from thence back to *Westminster*, not without Volleys of Taunts and Reproaches: And, to mend the *Show*, there follow'd at a little distance from *Perkin*, a Cabinet-Counsellor of his, who had been Farrier to the King's Stables, and was bound Hand and Foot upon a Horse. This Fellow, when *Perkin* took Sanctuary in *Hampshire*, chose rather to take a *Holy Habit*, says *Lord Verulam*, than a *Holy Place*, dressing himself like a Hermit, in which Weed he wander'd about the Country till he was discover'd and apprehended. Tho' he accompany'd *Perkin* in the Cavalcade thro' the City he was left at the *Tower*, and not long after executed. *Perkin* himself was also soon after committed to the *Tower*\*, but being of a mercurial Temper, or made of Quicksilver, says our noble Author, which is hard to hold or imprison, it was not long before he began to stir. The uncomfortable Reflexion on his Misfortunes, says another Author, made him utter piercing Groans, with abrupt and confused Sentences, concerning his Distress, and the malevolent Aspect of his Fate, cursing his miserable Life, and complaining of his unprofitable Genius, that had stood him in no better stead; wishing he had been born the Son of a Peasant, and bred to any mechanical Drudgery, rather than descended from the *Royal Blood of PLANTAGENET*, and to personate a Prince. Having one Day read the Story of *Mortimer's* Escape out of the *Tower*, by giving his Keepers a sleepy Draught, he deceiv'd his Guard in like manner, took to his Heels, and escap'd to the Sea-Coast of *Kent*, where he hop'd to meet with some Ship to carry him out of the Kingdom. But hearing that Orders were sent every where to apprehend him,

\* But, according to *Hollingshead*, it does not appear that he was committed till after he had attempted to make his Escape.

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and that all Places were debarr'd from admitting him, and all Ports stopp'd from letting him out; and, in short, finding the whole Kingdom in full Cry after him, he was quite distracted what to do, but went at last to the Priory of *Betlehem*, call'd the Priory of *Sheen* near *Richmond*, which enjoy'd the Privilege of a Sanctuary, where he desir'd the Prior, for God's Sake, to petition the King to grant him his Life and a Pardon. It was difficult for the Prior to protect such a Person, and yet he cou'd not resolve either to let him go elsewhere, or violate the Privilege of the House in delivering him up to the King. In this Perplexity he repair'd to his Majesty, and acquainting him that *Perkin Warbeck* was in his Hands, petition'd for his Life, leaving him for the rest to the King's Disposal. Many that were then about his Majesty wou'd have had him taken out of the Monastery and immediately hang'd; but the King readily perceiv'd that it was impossible to do this, without a great Clamour against such Violence, and being moreover too generous to hate those whom he despis'd, he pretended great Respect for the Prior, and granted *Perkin* his Life, but order'd the *Knave to be taken out and set in the Stocks*. He was first fetter'd, and set in the Stocks a whole Day, viz. the 14th of June, on a Scaffold erected in the *Palace-Court*, as he was the Day following at the *Cross* in *Cheapside*; and at both those Places read his Confession, which is inserted at large in *Hall*, *Hollingshead*, and *Grafton*, and, with a little Contraction, is added at the Close of this History, to make it compleat \*.

His Flight to another Sanctuary.

His being taken from thence and put in the Stocks and Pillory.

\* Mr. *Buck*, who wrote the Life and Reign of *Richard III*, says, that he was sometimes also taken out of the *Tower* and set in the Pillory; and likewise that he was put to the Rack in the *Tower* to extort a Confession from him; neither of which Facts is mention'd by Lord *Verulam*.

From



His Re- From the Stocks at *Cheapside-Cross* he was con-  
 commit- vey'd again to the *Tower*, where, after he had been  
 ment to some Time, he plotted with *Strangeways*, *Blewet*,  
 the *Tower*, *Astwood* and *Long-Roger*, four Servants of Sir *John*  
 and the *Digbie*, Lieutenant of the *Tower*, to kill their  
 Discovery Master, seize the Keys and the Lieutenant's Mo-  
 of his Plot ney, and make their Escape, together with the Earl  
 to escape. of *Warwick*, who had also been persuaded to come  
 into the Plot, for the Sake of recovering his Li-  
 berty of which he had been so long unjustly de-  
 priv'd: But the Plot was discover'd and defeated,  
 to the Destruction of all the Conspirators.

## C H A P. VII.

*Perkin's Trial, Condemnation, and Execution  
 at Tyburn; together with the Confession he  
 made of his Pedigree, Imposture, &c. which  
 he read publickly at the Gallows, as he had  
 done before in the Stocks.*

*Perkin's  
 Trial and  
 Condem-  
 nation.*

**P**ERKIN, who had now offended against Grace  
 a third time, was on the 16th of *November*  
 (1499) arraign'd at *Westminster*, before a Com-  
 mission of *Oyer and Terminer*, for divers Treasons  
 by him committed and perpetrated after his coming  
 into this Kingdom; and being thereupon con-  
 demn'd, he was on the 23d of the same Month,  
 together with the Mayor of *Cork* and his Son, the  
 chief Accomplices in his Treasons, drawn and  
 hang'd at *Tyburn*, where he again openly read his  
 Confession, and took it upon his Death to be true.  
 We give it as follows.

*His Con-  
 fession.*

' He it known unto all Men, that I was born  
 ' in the Town of *Tournay* in *Flanders*; my Fa-  
 ' ther,

' ther, *John Osbeck*, being Comptroller of the said  
 ' Town; my Mother *Catharine de Faro*; and my  
 ' Grandfather, by the Father's Side, *Direck Osbeck*;  
 ' after whose Decease, my Grandmother married  
 ' *Peter Flamine*, Receiver of *Tournay*, and Dean of  
 ' the *Boat-Men* on the *Scheld*: My Mother's Fa-  
 ' ther was call'd *Peter de Faro*, who kept the  
 ' Keys of *St. John's Gate* within the said Town.  
 ' I had also an Uncle Mr. *John Statime* (or *Stalin*)  
 ' of *St. Pia's* Parish there, with whom I dwelt very  
 ' young: He married my Father's Sister *Jane*, and  
 ' brought me up very well; yet my Mother not  
 ' contented, as being very fond of me, had me to  
 ' *Antwerp*, to learn *Flemish* more exactly, to a Kinf-  
 ' man of my Father's, and an Officer of the said  
 ' Town, *John Steinbeck*, with whom I remain'd a  
 ' full half Year; but by reason of the Wars then in  
 ' *Flanders* I returned to *Tournay*, where I was  
 ' plac'd with Mr. *Berlo* a Merchant, who, within  
 ' another Year, carry'd me to the Mart at *Ant-*  
 ' *werp*, where I fell sick awhile, and so was boarded  
 ' at a Skinner's House near that of the *English*  
 ' Nation, whereby I learned the Language as you  
 ' see. From thence I went to *Barrow Mart*, and  
 ' lodg'd for two Months at the Sign of the *Old-*  
 ' *Man*: Afterwards Mr. *Berlo* left me at *Middle-*  
 ' *burgh* with *John Strea* a Merchant, who first  
 ' made me believe *I was better than I was*; and  
 ' with him I staid from *Christmas* to *Easter*.

' From *Antwerp* I sail'd to *Portugal* with my  
 ' Lady *Brampton*, the Wife of Sir *Edward*, in a  
 ' Ship call'd the *Queen's Ship*, and serv'd a Knight  
 ' in *Lisbon* call'd *Don Peter Las de Cogna*, who had  
 ' but one Eye: There the Manner of his Behaviour,  
 ' and the Order of his House made me tarry a Year.  
 ' Then having a Desire to see other Countries,  
 ' with his Leave, I enter'd into the Service of  
 ' *Pregent*

## The HISTORY of

‘ *Pregent Meno* of *Bretagne*, who carried me to  
 ‘ *Ireland*, and either commanded so by my Lady  
 ‘ *Margaret*, who, as she said, was my Aunt, or  
 ‘ projecting something for his own Interest, would  
 ‘ needs perswade me I was a *Plantagenet* of the  
 ‘ House of *York*: For when I arriv’d in *Cork*, be-  
 ‘ cause I was handsomely apparell’d in some of my  
 ‘ Master’s Silk Cloaths, they would needs bestow  
 ‘ upon me the Title of the Earl of *Warwick*, Son  
 ‘ of *George* Duke of *Clarence*, formerly at *Dublin*  
 ‘ in *Ireland*, which *John Lewellin* the Mayor main-  
 ‘ tain’d; and forasmuch as my Denial was con-  
 ‘ trary to their Expectation, they brought me to  
 ‘ the *Cross*, and made me swear upon the Holy  
 ‘ *Evangelists*, that I was not Son to the said Duke,  
 ‘ nor any of his Kindred, until *Stephen Poitron*, with  
 ‘ *John à Water*, came unto me, who swore that I  
 ‘ was King *Richard*’s Bastard-Son, though I swore  
 ‘ that I was not, and that he was then in the Hands  
 ‘ of the King of *England*. They perswaded me,  
 ‘ nevertheless, not to be afraid or daunted at any  
 ‘ thing, for they would aid and assist me, even to  
 ‘ the obtaining the Crown of *England*; yea they  
 ‘ assur’d me, of their own Knowledge, that the  
 ‘ Earls of *Desmond*, and *Kildare* were ready to ven-  
 ‘ ture their Lives and Estates for my Sake: After  
 ‘ this they carried me into *Flanders* to Lady *Mar-*  
 ‘ *garet*, Regent and Duchess of *Burgundy*, who pre-  
 ‘ vail’d so far with me, that I took upon me the  
 ‘ Person of *Richard* Duke of *York*, second Son of  
 ‘ King *Edward* the Fourth, and so with reasonable  
 ‘ Preparations I returned back again into *Ireland*,  
 ‘ where the said *John à Water*, *Stephen Peynings*,  
 ‘ *John Tyler*, *Hubert de Burgh*, the foresaid Earls,  
 ‘ and many others enter’d with me into this False  
 ‘ Quarrel, and I was proclaimed by them *Richard*  
 ‘ the Fourth. From hence I went to *France*, on a  
 ‘ Message



‘ Message from the King, who had invited me thither, by *Loyte Lucas* and *Stephen Fryan*; but making Peace with *England*, he left me to shift for myself. Then I returned into *Flanders*, where my supposed Aunt made more of me than before; so I attempted *England*, but was driven back again into *Flanders*, from whence I went into *Scotland*, and from thence again into *Ireland*, and so once more into *England*.’

After he had read his Confession, he ask’d his King and Country Forgiveness, and seem’d to die penitently, with great Remorse of Conscience and Compunction of Spirit. His penitent Exit.

Such, says Lord *Verulam*, was the End of this little *Cockatrice* of a King, that was able to destroy those that did not spy him first. It was, *he adds*, one of the longest *Plays* that has been in Memory, and might perhaps have had another End, if he had not met with a King both wise, stout and fortunate.

Such, says Mr. *Rapin*, was the End of PERKIN WARBECK, who had been acknowledg’d for Lawful King in *France*, *Flanders*, *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and made King *Henry* shake in his Throne, in which he had given him Disturbance for seven or eight *Years*.

*Hæc finis Priami fatorum, hic exitus illum  
Sorte tulit. — — — — — Virg. Æneid. 2.*

Mr *Speed* says, in his History, that the World did not so much blame the King for putting him to Death, as for not hanging him sooner, before he had involv’d in his Ruin the Noble *Edward Plantagenet* Earl of *Warwick*, the last Heir Male of the Blood and Surname of *Plantagenet*, who, as hinted at the End of the last Chapter, being charg’d and prov’d, even by his own Confession, (when he submitted to the King’s Mercy) to have been concern’d

Execu-  
tion of the  
Earl of  
*Warwick*.

cern'd with *Perkin* in the Plot for their Escape out of the *Tower*, and consequently, as the Lawyers pleaded, for depriving King *Henry* of his Royal Crown and Dignity, was therefore condemn'd of High-Treason, and beheaded on *Tower-hill* the 28th of *November* 1499. He had been kept in the *Tower* (says Sir *Richard Baker*) from his very Infancy, out of all Company of Men, and Sight of Beasts, so that he scarce knew a *Hen* from a *Goose*, nor one Beast from another, and therefore could never know how to practise his Escape himself, but by *Perkin's* Subtlety, for which Cause the King favour'd him so far, that he was not buried in the *Tower*, but at *Bissam* in *Berkshire* by his Ancestors.

A Remark on the King's Conduct.

It has been remark'd by the most judicious and impartial of our Historians, that the Executions of *Perkin* and the Earl did not pass without this Censure upon the King, viz. That he did *Perkin* the Honour to commit him to the *Tower*, and to keep him there as a Bait to ensnare the Earl of *Warwick*, that at one Stroke he might destroy them both.

As for *Perkin's* Adherents we refer the Curious to the Histories of that Reign, for the Names of those that were executed, or fined. And in the xiith Tome of Mr. *Rymer's Fædera*, among other Acts which relate to this Impostor, who is therein term'd an *Idol*, an *Image*, and the like, there is a Commission dated at *Westminster* in *August* 1500, to call *Perkin's* Adherents to Account, and to compound with them, and the Heirs of those that were dead.

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# APPENDIX,

*Shewing the Intrigue of the JESUITS at Rome,  
to impose another SHAM PRINCE upon  
Great-Britain, in the Year 1688.*

*Hæ tibi sunt Artes, O! Jesuita, malæ.*

**T**HAT the Person, who since the Death of King *James the Second*, has assum'd the Name of King *James the Third of England*, is also an *Impostor*, has been set in so strong a Light by Proofs publish'd at the GLORIOUS REVOLUTION in 1688, and since that *Epocha* by other Writings, particularly one publish'd in the latter end of Queen *Anne's* Reign, and just now republish'd and inscrib'd to one of the *Justices of his Majesty's Court of Common Pleas*, with the Title of *Some farther Proofs that the Pretender is truly James the Third*: I say this Matter has been so fully clear'd up, that unprejudiced Observers don't need any supplemental Proof that this present Pretender is also an *Impostor*.

For my own Part I was always of that Opinion, especially since a Conversation I had some Years ago, about this Pretender, with certain Gentlemen of Worth, that had been travelling in *Italy*. They mention'd several Passages which gave me such Light into the Cheat formerly practis'd in the Court of *England*, with relation to his Nativity, that 'tis scarce to be doubted but the whole was a vile Imposture, to establish and perpetuate the *Romish* Religion in *Great Britain*, and to set aside our GLORIOUS DELIVERER the Prince of ORANGE, and the Princesses of *Orange* and *Denmark*, the then apparent Heirs to the Imperial Crown of these Realms.



I was farther confirm'd in this Belief, as many others have also been, by the Account which Mr. *Misson*, an Author of very good Reputation, has given of this Matter in a Letter dated in 1688 from *Loretto*, directed to no less a Person than Mr. *Charles Butler* (afterwards Earl of *Arran*) Brother to *James* (late) Duke of *Ormond*, who is said to be still living in *Spain*, in the 85th Year of his Age.

The Reader will find what follows in Mr. *Misson's* First Volume of Travels into *Italy*, viz.

Speaking of the *Santa Casa*, i. e. the *Holy Cottage* (as they profanely call the House of *Idolatry* at *Loretto*) and of the infinite Number of Precious Stones, Silver and Gold Candlesticks, and other costly Presents made to the Virgin *Mary's* Statue there, he proceeds thus,

' The last rich Offering is always left for some time in  
' a Place fram'd on purpose before the Eyes of our Lady :  
' That which at present occupies that honourable Place  
' is an Angel of Gold, holding a Heart bigger than an  
' Egg, all cover'd over with Diamonds of great Value.  
' The *English* Jesuit who conducted us, told us it was a  
' Present from the *Queen* of *England*. This Reverend  
' Father also told us a great Piece of News: He assured us,  
' that Princess was big with Child; and added, that un-  
' doubtedly it was by a *Miracle*, since they had calculated  
' that the very Moment in which the Present entered, was  
' the happy Minute in which she Conceived.

' He made the following Verses on this Subject, and  
' would needs give me a Copy of 'em. He introduces the  
' Angel speaking to the *Virgin*, and the *Virgin* an-  
' swering, viz.

(Ang.) *Salve, VIRGO potens: En supplex Angelus adsum,*  
*Reginæ Anglorum munera, vota, fero.*  
*Perpetuos edit gemitus mœstissima Princeps;*  
*Sis pia, & afflictæ quam petit offer opem.*  
*Castâ Maria petit sobolem; petit Angliâ; summi*  
*Pontificis titubans Relligioque petit.*  
*Inculci miserere uteri: Sitientia tandem*  
*Viscera, sæcundo fonte rigare velis.*

Nuncie

# APPENDIX.

67

Nuncie Cœlestis, *Reginæ* vota secundo:

(Virg.)

Accipiet focii pignora chara tori.

Immo, *Jacobus*, dum tales fundo loquelas,

Dat, petit amplexus; concipit illa. Vale.

*Sed Natum*, O REGINA, *Marem* Regina *peroptat*,

(Ang.)

*Nam spem jam Regni filia bina fovet.*

*Dona*, VIRGO, *Marem*. (Virg.) Jam condunt ilia Natum.

Fulcrum erit Imperii, Relligionis honos.

Reginam exaudit REGINA MARIA Mariam.

(Ang.)

*Alleluia! O fœlix, ter, quater, Alleluia!*

For the sake of those who don't understand the Original,  
they are thus translated, viz.

Hail! mighty *Virgin!* hear an Angel's Prayer,

(Ang.)

From *England's Queen*, both Vows and Gifts I bear.

With endless Sighs that *Princess* vents her Grief;

Pity her Sorrow, and afford Relief:

Chaste *MARY*, and her *England* crave an Heir,

*Rome's* tottering † Church joins also in the Pray'r.

Regard the *Soil* untill'd, and now, tho' late,

With fruitful Spring refresh its thirsty State.

*Envoy Cœlestial from the Pow'rs above,*

*With whom I intercede; the Queen shall prove*

*The dearest Pledges of Connubial Love.*

*Ev'n now, James courts Embraces which he gives:*

*I bid you Farewel; for she now conceives.*

} (Virg.)

But if, O *QUEEN!* her humble Suit avail,

(Ang.)

The Queen longs earnestly for Issue Male.

Two Daughters, \* *England's* Hopes, are next the Throne;

Therefore, O Gracious Virgin! grant a Son.

*With Son she now is pregnant. He'll be born*

(Virg.)

*To prop the State, and Holy Church adorn.*

*The Virgin Mary hears the Queen Maria:*

(Ang.)

*Allelujah! O happy, happy, Allelujah.*

† In *England*. \* The Princesses of *Orange* and *Denmark*.

F 2

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' Never, (said Mr. *Misson*,) were Verses repeated with  
 ' a more luscious Tone, or with more Delight. The Je-  
 ' suits Companion thought them so well pronounc'd, that  
 ' he humbly begg'd him to repeat 'em, though he knew  
 ' them already by Heart: And this favour was presently  
 ' granted him, My smiling Countenance seemed also to  
 ' applaud them, but my Silence did not please the Reve-  
 ' rend Father. He suspected there was something which I  
 ' dislik'd, and intreated me so earnestly to tell him my  
 ' Thoughts, that I could not possibly refuse him. At first,  
 ' I prais'd several Passages of them, as the *fecundo fonte*,  
 ' fruitful Spring, which the Angel begg'd, and the *Dat*,  
 ' *petit amplexus*, which appear'd to me very significant.  
 ' Yes, said he, the Manner of expressing the Thing, is  
 ' not less sweet and fine, than emphatical and demonstra-  
 ' tive; for it denotes a mutual Fervency. I added, that  
 ' since he permitted me to speak freely, I could not forbear  
 ' telling him, that the Beginning of the seventh Verse  
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 ‘ and credulous People, laugh and make Sport at them,  
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To which they make King *James* answer,

Monsieur, dit Jaques, Je respondray;  
Lo——s le treize vous a't-il fait, ou non?

In *English* thus, viz.

*Quoth Lewis* to *James*, pray tell me the Truth,  
*Had you any Hand in getting this Youth?*

To which King *James* answers,

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F I N I S.

6 JU 65



November 20, 1745.

*This Day is Publish'd, the Second Edition of*

**P**APAL TYRANNY in the REIGN of KING JOHN. A Tragedy. As it is acted at the Theatre-Royal in Covent-Garden. Written by COLLEY CIBBER, Esq;

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Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito. Virg.

A N D

A SERMON preached to the People at the Mercat-Cross of Edinburgh, on the Subject of the Union in the Year 1706, while the Act for uniting the Two Kingdoms was depending before the Parliament there. With a Preface by the Editor, setting forth the Advantages which have, in Fact, accrued to the Kingdom of Scotland by its Union with England.

O fortunatos nimirum, sua si bona norint. Virg.

*O happy Britons, if they understood*

*How kind their Climate, and their King how Good!*

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Les AVANTURES de TELEMAQUE FILS  
D'ULYSSE, par François de Salignac de la Mothe Fene-  
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avec soin: Enrichie des Imitations des Anciens, de la Vie  
de l'Auteur & d'un petit Dictionnaire Mythologique & Géo-  
graphique ; avec des Figures. Par D. DURAND, Min.  
de la Savoye, & Membre de la S. R.

The Editor's Advertisement to the Reader.

This Edition has several Advantages above any that have  
hitherto appear'd. Besides that it is very correct, the His-  
torical Eulogium on the Author, formerly compos'd by me,  
but now revis'd and corrected, is here added ; As also the  
Greek Imitations which belong in a great measure to the  
late Mr. Albert Fabricius ; the Latin Imitations or Allusi-  
ons, which I \*furnish'd for my Quota ; new Greek and  
Latin Imitations now first publish'd, and especially some  
from the Ancient Tragedians, which are not less entertain-  
ing. As to the Fifteenth Book, which scarce contains any  
thing but the Philoctetes of Sophocles, we have not con-  
tented ourselves with referring the Reader to the Original,  
and shewing the Number of the Verses imitated ; but have  
placed, at the bottom of the Pages, the most beautiful and  
shining Pages of that Tragedy, tho' in Latin to accom-  
modate ourselves to the Capacities of the greatest part of  
our Readers. In short, nothing has been neglected to ren-  
der this Edition useful and agreeable to all sorts of Persons.

\* The Editor here refers to the Edition of Telemachus  
printed at Hambourg, in which he was concern'd.



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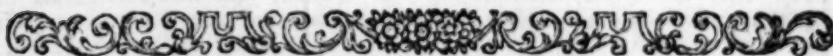


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